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No War Annexations

President Truman's statement in Berlin that the United States wants nothing out of this war in the way of territory or material reward has caused a flurry in Washington naval circles, who definitely want bases in the Pacific. He could not, it is urged, have been thinking of the Pacific area when he made this remark. We definitely hope that he was thinking of it. There should, no doubt, be naval bases in the Pacific, but they should not be regarded as booty or as a reward of victory. They will impose heavy expense on the American people, and ought to be established for the sole purpose of doing our share in performing the obligation we have assumed to coöperate in maintaining peace. As such, they should become trusteeships.

Economic Internationalism

The fact that acceptance of Bretton Woods by Congress had become a foregone conclusion does not lessen the significance of the action taken. With the approval of the Bretton Woods agreements, the expansion of the Export-Import Bank and participation in the International Food and Agriculture Organization, the Senate has completed action on the full program for economic coöperation requested by the late President Roosevelt and by President Truman. Retiring Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau was naturally gratified that the Bretton Woods agreements, his last and most important proposals, were passed by a vote of 61 to 16. Only two Democrats, O'Daniel of Texas and Wheeler of Montana, joined with 12 Republicans in opposition, showing that, as Morgenthau commented, "there is no partisan division in Congress or in the country on this policy." In its final form, the bill included a provision suspending the Johnson Act, designed to help meet transitional financial needs. It is unfortunate that administration leaders felt it necessary to compromise on an inferior Export-Import Bank bill, for the gain of increased funds for the bank is offset by what will be a poor administrative system.

Net Yet Out of Bretton Woods

American supporters of international coöperation are likely to heave a sigh of relief because Congress has ratified the Bretton Woods agreement, and to feel, a bit complacently, that now the proper economic basis has been laid for currency stability. Nothing could be farther from the truth. There are as many doubts in Britain about the Monetary Fund as there were in the United States, if not more. Britain will probably ratify the agreement because it is the only one that is offered, but if it does not work she will withdraw some time in the future, as she has the privilege of doing.

It is well to remember that at the beginning of the discussions both Britain and the United States produced plans. The Keynes plan, for Britain, differed widely from the White plan, for the United States. At the time we thought it, as the British authorities did, more imaginative and more likely to meet the requirements of the situation. The final Bretton Woods draft is, however, much more like the White plan. It was formulated, not so much in terms of what ought to be done as in terms of the most that American economic conservatives would accept. After a struggle, they have been induced to accept it. That is all, and it is nothing to cheer about.

If Britain can at the same time stabilize the pound,

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avoid "discriminatory" currency and trade practices, buy what she needs abroad and maintain full employment, all will be well. But if the supply of dollars (flowing from American foreign purchases and investments) does not prove to be sufficient for her to do all these things, something must give way. What will give way will not be British full employment or foreign trade. It will be the Bretton Woods agreement.

A National Science Program

Investigation since the war with Germany ended has shown that the Allies were extremely fortunate it came to a close when it did. If the struggle had continued a few months longer, new German weapons, based on scientific research, might have made Allied victory much harder, and perhaps even impossible. Everyone now recognizes that this has been a war of the scientists, more than any other in history. The mobilization of scientific ability in the enemy countries has been discouragingly good, and in some ways better than our own, deeply imbued as we have been with the notion of scientific research as primarily an offshoot of private business, and designed to make money.

From two quarters have come, within a few days, requests that the United States after the war keep up or improve its level of scientific research and discovery. Dr. Vannevar Bush, director of the Office of Scientific Research and Development, has asked for a fund of about $33 million annually, to aid research and, in particular, to give college training to about 25,000 young people of scientific ability. The Senate Subcommittee on War Mobilization has also asked for similar activity. In both cases, it is pointed out that scientific research is indispensable both for our protection in a military way and to improve our technology, keep abreast of the remainder of the world and make possible a higher standard of living. It is obvious that Congress must give immediate and careful attention to this problem. There is a danger that, with our feverish adherence to so-called free enterprise, we shall simply appropriate funds and wait for somebody to come along and ask for them. On the contrary, research needs to be coördinated carefully and the projects should be selected in terms of our national necessities, and not the accidental interests of various scientific groups. We do not see how this main job can be done by anything less than government itself.

Job Insurance

Six Democratic Senators are jointly sponsoring an unemployment-compensation plan that comes closer to being adequate than any legislation yet introduced. Designed to meet President Truman's recent plea for "decent unemployment benefits, as a bulwark against postwar deflation," this new bill goes farther than merely providing federal underwriting for state unemployment benefits up to $25 per week for 26 weeks. Even Representative Robert "Muley" Doughton has reluctantly introduced this basic part of Truman's request in the House. Senator Kilgore (W. Va.), and his co-sponsors of the Senate measure—Murray of Montana, Wagner of New York, Thomas of Utah, Guffey of Pennsylvania and Pepper of Florida—call for these further provisions: increase of veterans' unemployment benefits under the GI Bill of Rights to $25 for single men, $30 for those with dependents, after only 90 days' service; travel allowances for war workers referred to another city by the United States Employment Service; extension of benefits to federal, agricultural and various other workers not now covered by state laws.

The House has adjourned without even beginning hearings on this vital legislative question. These six Democrats face great opposition and inertia in the Senate. It will take a real show of interest by the voters while the congressmen are home on vacation to produce action, even in the fall.

Surplus Property

President Truman has sent an appeal to Congress to abolish the present three-man Surplus Property Board and replace it with a single administrator. We are inclined to agree that this is a wise course now, although when the original bill was being considered in the Senate a year ago, we strongly urged the board system of administration rather than one-man rule. At that time Will Clayton was the surplus czar and was clearly indicating the evils that could arise under the one-man system. The board, finally established at Senate insistence, has been hampered from the very first by a difficult Act and, further, by the fact that the members were not experienced enough as executives to rise above the deficiencies of the Act. The single administrator, who was supposed to carry out the directions of the board, has gradually come into practical control of surplus disposal without bearing the responsibility.

Probably the best way out of a confused and unfortunate situation is to centralize responsibility for surplus-property disposal and keep the congressional spotlight focused on the man chosen, so that the public can be instantly informed of any effort to use our common war properties for individual gain.

Franco Strengthens His Regime

General Franco's reorganization of the Spanish cabinet is not just a trick to make his regime more palatable to the Allied powers. For the Franco government, as is obvious after six years of Anglo-American appeasement, has never been particularly objectionable to the State Department and the Foreign Office. Nor is there any indication that a change of American and British policy is contemplated. The cabinet reshuffle, then, is clearly for internal reasons. By bringing monarchical and clerical elements into the government, Franco ap-

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parently seeks to strengthen his regime, which previously relied to a large extent on the fascist Falange Party as a political stabilizer. The Falange, however, has become increasingly unpopular, especially since the collapse of its prototypes in Italy and Germany. On the other hand, the Franco rebellion against the democratic Republic was not simply an attempt at a fascist coup d'état, but had its roots in the monarchical and clerical tradition of Spain. In spite of the German and Italian intervention, this rebellion would probably never have succeeded if it had not been supported by a powerful combination of monarchical forces, big landowning interests, industrial capitalists and the Church. Although these elements stayed in the background after the rebellion won out and while the Falange had its field day, they were nevertheless the backbone of the Franco regime.

Discouraging the Republicans

By openly allying such elements with his government, Franco may seek to convince his Republican opponents, inside and outside Spain, of the hopelessness of their efforts to overthrow him. But it is also possible that he is anxious for a rapprochement with José Maria Gil Robles, the exiled leader of Ceda, the conservative Catholic Action Party, five former members of which are now in the cabinet, and with Don Juan, the exiled pretender to the Spanish throne. Such a rapprochement, leading to the restoration of the monarchy, might enable Franco to bow gracefully out of power. Meanwhile, in Mexico City, Dr. Juan Negrín, the last Republican Prime Minister, is now trying to unite the exiled Republican parties in a democratic government-in-exile. Dr. Negrín professes to hope that the Franco regime will soon fall of its own weight. If it does not, for the reasons indicated above, the position of the Republicans will be a difficult one—unless they can get the support of the British and American governments in some sort of compromise with the monarchists, once the worst of the fascist elements have been purged.

France's Political Future

Next to the British elections whose outcome was not known at press time, the first postwar national election in France, now scheduled for October 14, will probably be the most important political event inside any European country. For the political coloration of the French and British governments in the next few years will directly affect the complexion of other European governments. In France the issue is clearly whether General de Gaulle's strong executive regime is indispensable for the country's rejuvenation, or whether power should reside in the elected representatives of the people. By calling a referendum to decide the future constitution of France, de Gaulle has actually put the left-wing resistance movement on the spot. It naturally wants to make a new beginning by scrapping the Constitution of 1875. But in doing so it risks creating a new constitution which might increase the power of the executive at the expense of the popular legislature. In the France of the Third Republic such a structural change in favor of a strong executive seemed a sound method of coping with the frustrating instability of the cabinets, whose only alternative to a vote of lack of confidence was resignation, rather than dissolution of parliament and new elections such as are possible in England.

The Need for Strong Party Government

But this argument no longer holds. The future French parliament may be expected to be dominated by a stable leftist majority which would guarantee stable cabinets even if the power of dissolution does not exist. In other words, parliamentary government, in order to function effectively, depends less on constitutional structure than on strong legislative party or coalition majorities. In the Germany of the Weimar Republic, in spite of the President's strong constitutional position vis-à-vis the legislature, parliamentary government finally failed because the parties were weak. In England, on the other hand, where legal sovereignty resides in Parliament, cabinets have been strong because they were backed by large party majorities. In France, therefore, the need is for a strong left-wing coalition rather than a strong constitutional executive. For the danger of a rightist personal regime under de Gaulle is not altogether out of question. Not only has de Gaulle moved to the Right in recent months, but he has increasingly become the focal point of rightist—even collaborationist—opposition to the trend toward the Left.

Rankin Sees Red

The Washington heat has definitely become too much for Representative John Rankin. To see Communists under Hollywood beds or in bureaucratic closets has become a fairly commonplace congressional aberration. But Rankin's dreams get bigger all the time.

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Changing the Hyena's Spots

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When the War Department shot holes into a House Military Affairs Subcommittee report on 16 Army officers charged with having backgrounds which "reflect communism," Rankin called for the resignations of Secretary of War Stimson, Undersecretary Patterson and Assistant Secretary McCloy on the ground that they "are using their offices to indoctrinate men with communistic philosophy." Some of Rankin's most reactionary colleagues felt impelled to dissociate themselves from him publicly on this wild attack.

No Chosen Instrument

The long dispute whether American international aviation should be conducted by one company as a monopoly with government supervision—the "chosen-instrument" policy—or should be conducted under competitive conditions, has now been decided in favor of the latter. The Civil Aeronautics Board has authorized three companies to fly the North Atlantic to Europe and the Near East—Pan American Airways, which is already in operation, Transcontinental and Western Air, Inc., and American Export Airlines. On the whole, this was undoubtedly a wise decision. Competition among a few great concerns is not a substitute for the automatic self-regulation of a free market; we must take care that monopoly does not develop under this guise and that regulation is effective. Other nations have for good reasons preferred national ownership or governmentally controlled monopolies, and we should be careful not to let our competition be carried on along lines that will cause unfairness or discord. If other nations, through governmental subsidies, present unfair competition, that is a reason for us to protest, and to get these conditions ameliorated, not for us to go and do likewise. Incidentally, such subsidies would be contrary to the spirit of the United Nations Organization, and a legitimate subject for consideration by the Social and Economic Council or the Security Council, or both. Pan American Airways has fought desperately for many years to become America's "chosen instrument" in international aviation. Its propaganda was extremely effective, and won over many members of Congress. But that very fact demonstrated the weakness of the argument. If PAA were to be the "chosen instrument," it must be under the thumb of Congress, and not vice versa. The decision of the CAB, in which all important governmental and private interests concerned with aviation concurred, was undoubtedly a sound affirmation of national policy so long as we are committed to private enterprise in the air.

Military Review

Under a new head, Rear Admiral Miller, the Navy Office of Public Relations has become the Office of Public Information and a considerably more liberal policy has been adopted both with regard to naming ships participating in actions (which has long been a source of complaint within the service itself) and with regard to ships damaged in battle. The only reason the former step was not taken long ago seems to have been the obstinate determination of officers above the Public Relations level to keep the war a private secret. The British have consistently followed every naval encounter of the war with a communiqué listing the participating ships, with the result that very few people in England or out of it have been left in any doubt as to the achievements of the Royal Navy or the essential correctness of its strategy.

That such doubt exists with regard to our own is demonstrated by the reception accorded the much-displayed damage reports on the *Saratoga, Franklin, Bunker Hill* and *Ticonderoga*. These reports have given the average member of the public a sense he did not previously possess of the difficult and desperate character of the Pacific war; but while everyone has been willing to pay tribute to the courage of our seamen, some doubt has been expressed as to their intelligence.

This has come out most sharply in the McCormick-Patterson press, where the old issue of the supremacy of air power is being raised in a manner reminiscent of Seversky. The complaint is that if a $70 million aircraft carrier can be smashed up with more than 300 casualties by only two kamikaze flyers, it is an exceedingly poor bargain both in a military and a financial sense. Like all the arguments of the extreme air-power school, it is based on the fallacy that the attacking planes get hits in a high percentage of their tries. The announcement of the damage inflicted on the *Ticonderoga* by a pair of kamikaze was separated by a single day from a communiqué describing carrier strikes against Honshu in which 392 Japanese planes were shot down.

The two did not refer to the same action, of course, and we do not yet know the cost of eliminating those 392 Japanese aircraft, but in view of the past record, no essential inaccuracy is achieved by laying the figures side by side. The lost planes represent an investment (in our terms) of some $78.4 million, besides 392 expensively trained pilots, and this would be no very bad exchange for the carrier even if she had gone down.

There is, however, a ground for criticism in these Pacific air operations which has been overlooked. Parallel with the reports of damage to the four American carriers came a British announcement describing how three of their carriers were hit by kamikaze in the operation against the Sakishima Islands. In all three cases the carrier continued in action as soon as the flaming debris had been swept over the side; the casualties were relatively light and there was never any question of a desperate struggle to keep the ship afloat.

The difference is one of construction. By accepting smaller air-group complements on their carriers and somewhat less efficiency in operation, the British navy has been able to produce a type of ship which stands up under battering a good deal better than our own, and

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the principal difference would appear to lie in the heavily armored decks which their carriers have and ours do not. It is easy enough to explain how this difference came about. British carriers were designed for operations in the close waters of Europe, where they would be at all times subject to surprise attacks from land bases, like that visited upon the *Illustrious* in the Strait of Sicily. No efficiency of scouts or fighter patrols could guarantee to keep these attacks at arm's length. The American carriers now in service were, on the other hand, designed for the Pacific while it was an open and still debatable ocean—designed for a type of operation in which no surprise or close attack on our ships was possible if the aviators aboard knew their business. Under such conditions armor was unnecessary and its weight could be put into other characteristics.

It may be that these other characteristics were decisive in the crucial days of the Pacific war, and the use of suicide pilots by the Japanese has introduced an element of abnormality. But the course of the fighting in both Atlantic and Pacific shows that matters sooner or later come down to work in waters where hits on carriers are unavoidable, and under such conditions the British armored carrier is clearly the better type. Admiral Cochrane of the Bureau of Ships admitted as much when, in an interview last week, he remarked that future American carriers would be more like the *Midway* (armored) than like the *Essex* (unarmored). In the meantime our navy in the Pacific is fighting its war with some 20-odd of the latter type, with nine more building, but only 3 *Midways* under construction.

Terms for Japan

NOW THAT the big guns of the combined British and American fleets are blasting point-blank at the Japanese homeland, the discussion of peace terms for Japan is steadily rising in volume. There are rumors that Stalin brought a Japanese proposal with him to Potsdam and that the American State Department has virtually finished its draft of detailed provisions. Meanwhile, there is an intensification of the demand in this country that we state publicly our intentions in the hope that the Japanese, knowing that they are beaten, will believe acceptance of these terms should be made now rather than after an invasion.

Whatever else may be done, we ought, as in Europe, to hold firmly to our purpose of unconditional surrender—that is, surrender from the military and governmental authorities without any previous negotiation or bargaining. This is the only way in which the fact of defeat on the field of battle can be established for all time so that the proper lessons may be drawn from it by the defeated. This, however, need not prevent us from issuing a declaration to inform the Japanese what we propose to do with our victory. If such a declaration should state in clear and explicit terms that we do not intend to exterminate the people, but only to deprive their rulers of the power to make war, and that we wish in the end not to exploit them but to improve their lot in life, the domestic pressure for surrender before invasion might become irresistible and hundreds of thousands of lives might be saved. If, on the contrary, the military leaders insisted on resistance to the bitter end, such a declaration would serve as a powerful weapon of propaganda to weaken the will to fight.

The Japanese will scarcely surrender, no matter what the inducement, so long as they have the slightest hope that there is any rift in Far Eastern policy separating the United States, Britain, Russia and China. They have been counting on such a rift, not of course to win this war, but rather to maintain a better position after it than would otherwise be possible and eventually to strike again when the time is more propitious. If the Big Four were not firmly united, the Japanese leaders would hope that we could be induced to accept negotiation rather than pay the cost of subjugating their home armies in a long and bloody struggle.

On this account, a declaration of peace terms by the United States alone would be likely to do more harm than good. The essential preliminary to the policy recommended is a firm agreement at Potsdam, upon which a joint declaration may be based. Such an agreement may or may not include a pledge by the Soviet Union to enter the war in the Far East. If it did include such a pledge, Japanese surrender would be far more likely, but even if it did not, knowledge that Russia has no objection to peace terms enunciated by Britain and the United States and would coöperate in maintaining them, would rob the Japanese of the opportunity to exploit Allied divergence of policy.

What terms ought to be proposed? A Washington correspondent of the New York *Herald Tribune*, Jack Steele, recently outlined terms which he reported have been drafted by the State Department for submission to the President. This program includes surrender of all territories seized by the Japanese, destruction of Japan's fleet and air force and dismantling of shipyards and other heavy industries capable of producing munitions. On the other hand, the Allies would neither invade nor occupy Japan, but would merely install a supervisory force to see that the terms were carried out. They would not insist on any control over the Japanese government or any change in it. They would permit the Japanese to keep the Emperor if they so wished.

If this is a complete and accurate description of the State Department's proposals, they are far too lenient on the war-making powers in Japan and at the same time too severe on the Japanese people. It may be that our diplomatic officials have some private reason for believing that if we stay out of a defeated Japan, an

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angry population will rise, depose the Emperor and do away with the military hierarchy and the feudalistic industrial control. If so, the danger of future war would be minimized. But if this should happen, there would be no need to deprive the Japanese of the ability to build ships for peaceful commerce, or of those heavy industries which, though they might be employed by an aggressive military regime, are also essential for peaceful construction and progressive improvement of Japanese standards of living. If we do not allow the Japanese to trade abroad, they will be condemned to perpetual poverty. If we do allow them to trade abroad, it is essential for our own sakes that their manufacturers shall not be allowed to exploit a population with such low standards of living that their wage costs offer a menace to the workers in all other nations.

We do not believe, however, that the officials in the State Department have any assurance of a Japanese revolt or would like it if it came. Many experts are convinced that it is necessary for the victors to intervene in order to depose the Emperor and so destroy the tradition which makes it a virtue for the people to submit themselves to his divine will and even to welcome death in battle for his greater glory. Against this proposal, it is argued that by taking the Emperor into camp, we can use him and his great power for our own purposes. This is probably what the State Department has in mind. Both alternatives seem to us undesirable. The tradition of Emperor-worship ought to be destroyed, but we do not believe it possible for the Allies to destroy it by deposing Hirohito. Foreign intervention of this kind would be likely to serve in the long run only to establish the tradition more firmly. As soon as our control was removed, the old institutions might be restored.

What we ought to do is to intervene in such a way as to make it possible for democracy to function in Japan. It is as mistaken to believe that there were no genuine democratic forces at work there before the war as it is to maintain that democracy was nonexistent in Germany. Under a temporary Allied Military Government, free speech and other civil liberties could be restored, the military autocrats could be removed from power, labor could be permitted to organize, and the way could be smoothed for political and reform movements opposed to the existing regime. At a later date, we could turn the government of Japan back to the people under democratic guarantees and then let them decide whether or not they wish to retain the Emperor. There is little doubt in our minds what the outcome would be. Either the people would do away entirely with the monarchy or they would curb its power for evil by a truly democratic constitutional government.

Even more urgent is the necessity for destroying the power of the financial and industrial barons who have both supported imperialist aggression and oppressed the Japanese people. This economic oligarchy is almost indistinguishable from the military and is an even greater source of danger than the Emperor himself. If it is left in power, it will pervert any conceivable form of government. No delusion is greater than that prevalent in some American circles that the men who control the great industrial and financial combinations are liberal in tendency and were dragooned by the military into a policy of conquest. It is no more possible to find security in dealing with them than to rely upon their counterparts in Germany. We must intervene in Japan to expropriate them and hold their property in trust until a democratic Japanese regime can decide how it wants its economy managed. Only thus can the danger of another war be averted and the instigators of this one be removed from power. If we take this step, it will be unnecessary to destroy the industry upon which a progressively improved standard of living will depend.

We cannot emphasize too strongly that it is desirable to allow scope for such improvement, not because of any tenderness for the Japanese people, but in order to deprive them of a future motive for war and to permit rising standards in other lands as well. The poverty of any great section of the world's population must tend to impoverish all. It will ultimately be as necessary to apply the principles of an expansionist economy to the nations defeated in this war as to the victors.

It may be objected that if we announce an intention to expropriate the powerful groups which now control Japan's economic and political life, the chances of a prompt surrender will be greatly lessened. This may be true, but in so far as it is true, it is irrelevant to the triumph of our purposes in fighting. Unconditional surrender would have no meaning if they were left in power. On the other hand, a genuine promise of a better life for the Japanese people, such as would be made possible by their elimination, would be the greatest possible stimulus to those forces in Japan which are our only natural allies.

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Counter-Revolution in Greece

UNDERTAKEN to preserve "law and order," the British intervention in Greece has now run its full course. Law and order are flouted by the very elements the British had come to protect against the alleged "excesses" of what Mr. Churchill has called "this well armed and well directed mob." Each new day brings reports of terror, assassinations, arrests, tortures, intimidation of and reprisals against democratic activists. From Greek border regions come reports of armed clashes between Greek forces and Albanian, Yugoslav and Bulgarian military units. Inside Greece the victims of this reign of oppression are not, as one might suspect in an anti-fascist war, the fascists and collaborationists, but the members and followers of the EAM, the liberation movement. In the border regions the victims are minority groups.

What is happening in Greece today is a counter-revolution against a phantom revolution which existed solely in Mr. Churchill's mind. Mr. Churchill betrayed his views as early as August 31, 1943, when he expressed the hope of seeing the kings of Yugoslavia and Greece "restored to their thrones by the free choice of their liberated peoples." If Mr. Churchill then made his wish the father of his thought, he made it the father of his action in December, 1944. And when he told Parliament afterwards that the British intervention "was a struggle to prevent a hideous massacre in the center of Athens in which all forms of government would have been swept away and naked, triumphant Trotskyism installed," he laid himself open only to amazed ridicule from a gasping world audience.

What is the real story behind the "hideous massacre" of Mr. Churchill's imagination? As far as I can piece it together from many correspondents' reports, it is this: Athens was liberated on October 12, 1944. Shortly before and for two days after the arrival of British troops, ELAS, the EAM's military arm, completely controlled the city. They could have easily seized power, but they did not. When General Scobie, the British commander, ordered them to withdraw from Athens, they obeyed. Then the British brought back the exiled, anti-republican Mountain Brigade. It was permitted to stay in Athens. Clashes followed. Foreign correspondents were not permitted to report Mountain Brigade disorders, but no similar restriction was placed on them in regard to ELAS disturbances.

ELAS then agreed to give up its arms, if the Mountain Brigade would do the same. Premier Papandreou consented, but two days later he informed ELAS that he could not keep his promise. He had received a letter from General Scobie saying that the British government could not accept the dissolution of the Mountain Brigade. That no further clashes resulted was primarily due to the disciplined behavior of ELAS. But in those weeks before December 3 not a single Greek collaborationist was tried or executed; instead, fascist officers of the collaborationist "security battalions" were taken into the new national army.

A protest demonstration was called by the EAM for December 3. On the night before, Leland Stowe reported, General Scobie told Papandreou that the time had come to get tough with the EAM. His "advice" was followed. On the following day Papandreou's right-wing police fired on the unarmed mass of peaceful EAM demonstrators. The "hideous massacre" had begun. The British, not the EAM, were responsible.

Why did the British act in this way? Because Mr. Churchill had made up his mind to restore King George II to the Greek throne, and because he knew that the powerful EAM was unalterably opposed to restoration. And he also knew what the outcome of a plebiscite on the constitutional question would be. The only political issue before and after December 3—the only political issue today—is the question of monarchy. The EAM never was, nor is it today, a social revolutionary movement. In composition, aims and activities it resembles closely the partisan and resistance movements elsewhere. But it differs from them in one important respect. It derived directly from the underground organization which opposed the dictatorship of General Metaxas before the war and had, therefore, a machinery of resistance which could be developed against the foreign aggressor. And although its immediate task was to defeat the national enemy and his collaborators, the EAM did not forget the popular hatred of the Metaxas regime and of King George, who was responsible for setting up the dictatorship.

The story of the EAM and its fight against the Axis is well enough known, but some of the political aspects of its struggle are directly related to the issue of monarchy. After the underground civil war between ELAS and EDES, another guerrilla organization, had been ended with Allied assistance in February, 1944, the EAM demanded to be represented in the exiled Greek government in Cairo. But the then Prime Minister, Emanuel Tsouderos, wavered. For the EAM not only wanted to see the Cairo government rid of any taint of Metaxasism: it also wanted the King to promise not to return to Greece until a plebiscite had determined what kind of regime the people favored. When the negotiations had broken down, the EAM set up its own "Political Committee" which assumed governmental functions and entered into friendly relations with Tito's Partisan movement in Yugoslavia.

Lack of contact with the EAM and general unrepresentativeness led to a governmental crisis in Cairo that

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was accentuated by the mutiny of the First Greek Brigade, which sympathized with the EAM. Tsouderos resigned, but his successor, Colonel Venizelos, was unable to form a new government capable of resuming relations with the EAM. On April 26, 1944, however, Mr. George Papandreou, leader of the Social Democratic Party, became Prime Minister. He had escaped from Greece a few weeks previously, and although he had not participated in guerrilla activities, he was expected to bring the shaky Government-in-Exile and the EAM together. A conference was held in the Lebanon in May and a National Charter was signed. It provided, among other things, for the unification of the guerrilla forces, for political liberty after liberation and for the people's free choice of government.

At last success seemed assured, but for reasons not as yet fully known the EAM suddenly stalled. On the one hand, it seems, it distrusted the exiled politicians. On the other hand, its political and military strength had considerably increased during the summer of 1944, and it now demanded a greater representation in the cabinet. This would have given it actual control. Papandreou could not agree to this demand. In August, however, the EAM expressed its willingness to join the government with five portfolios. The sudden liberation of Greece, precipitated by the German withdrawal in October, found the EAM in control practically everywhere. The exiled government returned and was welcomed by the people, even though the EAM was not as yet represented in the cabinet. The Greeks seemed well on the road to a peaceful future. But Mr. Churchill had made up his mind. His "divide-and-rule" policy went into effect.

Mr. Churchill's great talking-point, of course, is the Communist bogey. The EAM is admittedly led by a number of Communists. But there is nothing exceptional about such leadership. As elsewhere, the Communists in Greece were better prepared for underground resistance than the other parties. Moreover, the Greek Communists are not, as Mr. Churchill wants to make us believe, Trotskyists, but Stalinists. It is precisely the present realism of the Stalinists, who everywhere are anxious to coöperate with other democratic parties, to which Mr. Churchill objects. In Greece, in particular, communism would quickly encounter the hostility of the peasant population, who would not willingly subscribe to the principle of collective ownership. The other parties in the EAM had apparently no objection to coöperation with the Communist Party. And Mr. Churchill never once mentioned that the EAM also included outstanding Greek personalities—16 generals of the old Greek army, 34 colonels, 1,500 other commissioned officers, 1,500 clergymen and 6 bishops, 30 university professors, the president of the Polytechnic School and two academicians.

That the future of the monarchy, and not communism, is the central issue of Greek politics was clearly brought out in the Varkiza Agreement which ended open hostilities on February 12. It provided:

> At the earliest possible date, and in any case within the current year, there should be conducted, in complete freedom and with every care for its genuineness, a plebiscite which should finally settle the constitutional question, all points being submitted to the decision of the people. Thereafter should follow as quickly as possible elections to a constituent assembly for the drafting of the new Constitution. The representatives of both sides agree that for the verification of the genuineness of the expression of the popular will the great Allied powers should be requested to send observers.

The Varkiza Agreement was endorsed by the British government; but it obviously never intended to carry it out. If and when the promised plebiscite should be held—there is no indication of its being planned during the current year—royalists, Metaxas officials and quislings would be strongly enough entrenched to intimidate the people or falsify the results. Most government offices and army positions are already filled with these reactionary elements. Neither they nor the British have done or are doing anything to put a halt to the present reign of terror. The British are clearly responsible. British officials in Greece exercise a right of veto on all governmental decisions. No appointments are made to high office without the approval of the British Ambassador. And now word comes that because of "the general uneasiness" inside Greece and in the border regions "it is becoming increasingly obvious that the British security forces now in Greece will remain here until next spring, possibly longer" (New York *Times*, July 15, 1945).

Greece is temporarily a British colony. Her people have been temporarily crushed. While the right-wing forces are now controlling the country as British puppets, their hold is precarious. The Voulgaris government has no popular basis. Plebiscite or no plebiscite, King George could return only by the grace of Winston Churchill. But Mr. Churchill's policy has had exactly the opposite effect of what was intended. The Communist Party has become increasingly popular. It is conscious of the leadership it gave to the resistance movement not only against the Germans, but also against General Scobie's troops during the Athens fight. Trade-union election returns show large majorities for the Communist-led coalition lists.

Both sides in Greece are again preparing for the resumption of hostilities. Mr. Churchill may want this in order to justify continued British occupation. But civil wars breed international wars. Already Russian forces are reported moving into strategic positions along Greece's northern frontiers. British intervention can be checked by joint Allied counter-intervention. That this counter-intervention should be achieved by peaceful means is one of the many tasks facing the statesmen now meeting in Potsdam. HEINZ EULAU

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Buchenwald

I was desperately busy on the morning when the interrogator brought K—— into my office. To get rid of them, I asked them both to dinner, conscious that I was almost certainly in for a wasted evening. We had seen too many "concentration-camp prisoners"—pathetic broken creatures—most of them homeless and stateless. When one had heard their story through, there always came the moment when one had to explain that we could not provide them with visas for England or the States: they must return to a Displaced Persons' Center and wait.

But the moment we met in the mess it was obvious that K—— was different. Fair-haired, slim, about 34, with neat, gold-rimmed glasses and a pleasant Austrian accent, he looked as though his borrowed gray-flannel suit belonged to him. In spite of eight years in Buchenwald, he had been able to discard, along with the grotesque gray-and-white prisoner's clothes, the prisoner's mentality. K—— was not only liberated: he was free.

We started dinner at seven and finished at 3:30 a. m. We talked Buchenwald; and what follows is only a fragment of what K—— had to tell.

As a young Austrian Catholic, K—— had had a tough time at first. When he got there in 1938, Buchenwald was composed of criminals, who held all the key positions under the SS; some 2,000 German Communists—the cream of the party; Jews; gypsies and homosexuals. Each group was distinguished by its own badge, green for criminals, red for politicals, yellow for Jews and pink for homosexuals. As a political, K—— was grouped with the Communists, who did not see any particular reason why they should help an Austrian "crypto-fascist."

Somehow K—— managed to come to terms with three or four Communist intellectuals. "We had one thing in common—a will to survive. Mine was based on religion, theirs on Marxism. All of us realized there was one thing we could not afford—pity. I remember getting up early one morning to have ten minutes alone. I was sleeping in a three-tiered bunk less than three feet wide with four men on each tier. Privacy was a little difficult. I walked outside the barrack and there were rambler roses in full bloom festooned up the wall. It was five o'clock and dawn was breaking. I wasn't looking where I was going and I stumbled against a body swinging from the wall and bumping the roses. It was a gypsy who had hung himself by his braces. And do you know, there was a cigarette end drooping from the corner of his mouth.

"Yes, one lived by the will to survive. You remember the winter of 1940? It was our worst winter because they allowed us no parcels. We were beaten if we went to bed in anything except our underclothes. One day we stood for 19 hours on end at attention on the parade ground because one prisoner was missing. I saw 19 people fall dead. The SS counted and recounted—and the funny thing was that in the end the silly swine found that no one was missing.

"I had done well. As an intellectual I had no special skill which would give me a soft job in the jeweler's workshop or the bookbinder's or the shop where the model viking ships were made for the SS to give as Christmas presents. I was due for the quarries until a Communist offered me a job in the smithy a hundred yards away. I knew nothing about it, but there was a fire there, and he told me to stand beside it and pull bolts out of a rusty bar and put them back again. I could see the Jews in the quarry through the windows.

"One day I looked up and saw a Jew crawling on hands and knees toward the smithy. I watched him. It took him over an hour to do the hundred yards. I knew what was coming. Finally I heard the scratching on the door. I moved involuntarily to the door and opened it a foot. I saw him lying there outside. His nails were bleeding. The next thing I knew, I was lying on the floor by the fire and my comrade was standing over me saying 'You bloody fool.' We picked up the body on our way home from work and carried it back to the camp.

"You ask me how I, as a Catholic, can tell you that: Because we had to reserve our pity for useful things—for helping the comrades when we could really help. I learned some hard lessons. I hated the Communists' contempt for the upper-class prisoners. But mostly it was justified. There were high-grade civil servants, important businessmen and dignitaries there. In the camp we were all on a level, all dressed the same. Most people's morale is supported by the corset of their social prestige and rank and status. Strip those corsets off and they sag. They lose all self-respect and the proletarians look at them with contempt. You want examples? Well, the SS gave us a brothel in 1942, fourteen girls from another camp. The secret camp committee decided to put it out of bounds for all politicals, but some of the upper-class people paid their two marks and soon they were fighting for the girls and stealing in order to give them presents. It was the same with the 200 Polish boys. That was the sort of thing which made the proletarians say that the bourgeoisie have no self-respect when you take off their corsets.

"How were we organized inside the camp? When the SS got rid of Commandant Koch—the one whose wife liked men with tattoos, selected them for her pleasures and then had them skinned to use the tattooed breast-skins as parchment for lampshades—the

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new commandant was easier to deal with. The Communists got themselves into all the key positions which had been held by the criminals. There was a Communist block leader in charge of each block; Communists ran the hospital, the canteen, the kitchen, and, most important of all, the Labor Office, which decided on the movement of prisoners from camp to camp and the composition of the work commandos. The SS had to leave most of this work to the German inmates, especially when the camp grew in size and thousands of foreigners were brought in. The choice was whether the criminals should have this power or the politicals. Of course, anyone who had it had power of life and death, yes, of life and death. As more and more foreigners came in, the Communists naturally tended to select foreign Communists to head up the barracks. They had an iron discipline. They did many hard things but they saved the camp from total extermination.

"It was funny to see the SS power ebbing away. Partly it was just fatty degeneration. The SS men were shirking military service and were making a good thing out of the camp. They got corrupted by power, emotionally exhausted by beating and killing, and they knew they were losing the war. You won't believe it, but on the day of liberation the Communists and the Russian soldiers were walking about in brand-new SS boots and wind-jackets and many of the SS had only shoes. And all the time the SS were torturing or beating us to death.

"I got a job as secretary to the doctor in charge of the typhus experimental station. I worked in closely with the Communists in the key jobs in the hospital. We were in a strong position because the ordinary SS were terrified of coming near either of our buildings for fear of infection. The two doctors were the only staff provided, and we worked on them pretty successfully. In my section a great deal of experimental work was carried out on the inmates. We produced one good anti-typhus serum, but we reserved that for the inmates and sent one out to the SS divisions at the front consisting mostly of water.

"It was through our positions in the hospital and experimental stations that we were able to save many people from execution. A party of some fifty British, for instance, were brought in one day, mostly parachutists from the Maquis. Their morale was O. K. They formed a national group like the Russians, and got in contact with the German comrades. One day we got wind that they were all to be executed in a week's time. I talked it over with a Communist in the hospital and we agreed that we might be able to save four. So they held a meeting and selected the four. The rest knew they were for it.

"The most difficult problem was the British commanding officer because he was so well known in the camp. The only way to save him was to substitute him for a dying man in the hospital and let him take the dying man's papers. Unfortunately, the only foreign language he knew was French, and he was very tall. And there were no Frenchmen in the hospital. By luck a transport of Frenchmen arrived two or three days before the execution date, many of them down with typhus. But there was only one who would do.

"I shall never forget that time. The Communist who had agreed to do the job kept on saying to me, 'One little injection will do the trick. If your man is worth saving we can't be squeamish.' But the Englishman and I decided we couldn't murder the man and we hung on till the Frenchman really was dying. That was the day before the execution.

"After the execution we both got the feeling that perhaps the man hadn't been dying after all, and that we really had polished him off. So we've got the address of the Frenchman's wife and we're trying to find her to explain what happened and to offer her compensation.

"Anyway, it all went off all right. After a week in hospital, posing as the dead Frenchman, the Englishman was moved out to a camp where he was less well known. We kept contact with him until liberation. You're surprised that one had scruples about little things like waiting for a man to be really dying before injecting him. But it was those little things which were the faith that kept me going. The Communists, of course, didn't mind about them. For them the end justified the means and there is no doubt it was Communist discipline which saved the camp. In the end we had enough arms in the camp to take over before the Americans arrived.

"It's a queer thing, but in Buchenwald we didn't waste much time hating the SS. They beat us, they butchered us, they exploited us; but our hatred (and our love, too) was reserved for the comrades inside. It was the stool-pigeons and the informers and the men who had let us down whom we really hated. The SS was an act of God. You didn't hate it, you just accepted it as the established order; or, if you were clever, you worked on it and corrupted it to make life bearable.

"I can see that you still wonder why one troubled to survive. Of course, a lot didn't, especially the non-politicals. But a concentration camp is just another form of human existence. After the first shock one accepts it, just as one accepts the front line or the slum. And if you decide to survive and adapt yourself, you live just as fully in Buchenwald as anywhere else; though the chances of death are a good deal higher.

"Like normal people, we had our escapes. We were allowed to receive books. Heavens, how I read in the half-hour available! I shall never read so greedily again. We got the world news from the commandos, who mixed with the Germans outside, and I think we were the best informed people in Germany. We used to send directives to comrades outside on propaganda.

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Then there was the cinema. We had it twice a week, mostly non-political stuff. The SS had a sense of humor. They put the screen in the room where the beating-block was kept. We used to watch films of people eating and drinking and sitting in armchairs, with the beating-block just there behind. But on the whole it helped."

I shall never forget that dinner party. K—— with his neat gold-rimmed glasses, his boyish enjoyment of a good story, seemed not only to have survived Buchenwald, but to have developed out of it a new, steely, ironical philosophy. Perhaps, I thought, as I listened to him, the fraternity and internecine struggle of Buchenwald, the mixture of idealism and conspiracy, of self-sacrifice and self-assertion, are a microcosm of the moral and political struggle which will face all of us in the postwar world.

London R. H. S. CROSSMAN

A Scientist Goes to Russia

ON SATURDAY I dined with Stalin in the Kremlin; on Sunday I had tea with my wife in Hampstead. The tea was tête-à-tête: the dinner comprised some 1,200 guests. Indeed it was not a dinner, but a banquet, lasting for nearly five hours and displaying a profusion of food and drink that we in Britain have not seen for almost six years. This banquet was one of the many proofs we received of the great prestige which science enjoys in the USSR, for it was given to the delegates to the celebrations of the Russian Academy of Sciences on the 220th anniversary of its foundation. There were more than twenty of us from Britain; nearly as many from the United States; a strong team from France, and smaller numbers from Canada, Poland, Hungary, Australia, Belgium, India, Sweden, Bulgaria and various other countries. All the Russian academicians were there and hundreds of delegates from all over the Soviet Union. I met one Mongol delegate from the sub-Arctic region of Siberia who was a specialist in the history of science.

Let us suppose a parallel event in Britain—that the Royal Society, immediately after the Japanese war ends, were to organize a fortnight's celebration to which foreign delegates from all over the world, as well as large numbers of scientists from the mother country, the dominions and the colonies, were invited. Then, to make the parallel with our experience, the Royal Society would provide free transport and free hotel accommodation for its foreign guests, would give an enormous dinner in the Savoy or Grosvenor House, would take Covent Garden for a night of opera and the Albert Hall for a special concert, would arrange for several special trains, all of sleepers, to take the party to Edinburgh—where the city would provide another banquet—and would, with its guests, be entertained at the Guildhall by the British government, the Prime Minister, the Foreign Secretary and other Cabinet Ministers attending in person. Furthermore, all the papers—*Times*, *Manchester Guardian*, *Daily Herald*, *Mirror* and all the rest—would feature the celebrations, and the achievements of science, especially British science, as front-page news, often the main front-page news, for two weeks.

A man at the Australian Legation in Moscow told me that he had asked the servants there who was president of the Academy, and they all knew. I wonder whether even five percent of the people of Britain could name the president of our Royal Society, or five percent of Americans could say who was the head of the National Academy of Science?

Though there were a certain number of rather lengthy formal meetings and celebrations, for the most part the delegates were free to visit the laboratories and institutions that particularly interested them. One of the striking facts about Russian science today is the huge scale on which research is carried on in many subjects. My geological colleagues told me of the Geological Survey of the USSR, and related organizations, which are exploring the geological structure, the mineral resources and the fossil records of evolution of this immense area—one-sixth of the world's land surface—at a rate quite unprecedented in any other country. Some of the results have been of great importance for the war—for instance the discovery of huge resources of nickel on Russian territory. Forestry research is on a scale which makes our provisions in this field look trifling. Agricultural research (and also teaching and extension work) is, of course, of vast scope, though in this field the *application* of knowledge will be much behindhand until the present shortage of tractors and the almost complete absence of fertilizers can be remedied.

In modern soil science the Russians have led the world from the first. It was interesting to be told by a British soil scientist who had been in West Africa that the only soil map of Africa in existence has been made by Russians, and that the Russian soil map of Australia, compiled in Moscow, is better than that executed in Australia itself.

In the physical sciences, my physical and chemical colleagues tell me that the same large scale characterizes much of the research in progress. The work is in general of high quality, even if few outstanding discoveries have recently been made. In Kapitza's laboratory you can see helium in what is known as the superfluid state, only a couple of degrees above the absolute zero

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of temperature (it is interesting that this was independently and simultaneously discovered in England). Kapitza has also elaborated new methods for liquefying air and extracting liquid oxygen from it, which are likely to be of considerable practical importance. Joffé, the eminent physicist, is directing studies on the physics of the soil.

Work in physical chemistry—for instance in relation to the process of combustion and to chemical reactions at surfaces—is very active; and organic chemistry, as might be expected, is busy on a large scale with the building up of synthetic chemical compounds, with a view to practical use.

A great deal of research is being done on the physiology of the brain and on behavior, along the lines instituted by Pavlov. I was particularly interested to find that the scope of such work extended to studies on the inheritance of behavior patterns and temperament in insects and in birds and dogs.

In my own field of general biology, the quantitative scale of the work in progress was not so enormous, but it was interesting to find that the Russians were attacking the problem of evolution on strict Darwinian principles, and from a great many angles at once—genetics, field study, cytology, museum classification, ecology, and so on—along lines very similar to those that we and the Americans have been independently pursuing during the war.

It has sometimes been stated that scientific views in Russia are dictated by Marxist orthodoxy or have to adjust themselves to political pressure. This is certainly not usually the case. Thus in biology, Lysenko has been advancing revolutionary theories as to heredity: he is also in a position of great scientific power, as president of the Academy of Agricultural Sciences, and also in one of great political power, as a vice-president of the Supreme Soviet. However, in spite of this and of his bitter opposition to Mendelian theories of heredity, the above mentioned evolutionary studies, which are all based on Mendelian principles, continue to flourish.

The only field of natural science where Marxist theory seems to have an effect is that of psychology. True to the materialist principles of Marxism, Russian investigators appear to confine themselves almost entirely to the behavioristic and physiological approach, leaving out the mental aspects. Thus Freudian psychoanalysis, as well as introspective psychology of the classical kind, seem to be taboo—or at any rate are not studied. Finally, it was interesting to find that, in spite of the claims of war on science for immediate useful results, Russian scientists in most fields seem to have been able to continue with more pure research than have their colleagues in Britain or America.

Perhaps I can add a few words about non-scientific matters. Ballet, opera and theatre are in full swing in every large town, and reach the highest standards, though the two first confine themselves almost entirely to classical or old-fashioned works; and we saw no German composers—even Mozart, who was an Austrian—featured on any of the programs. The encouragement of the arts is a deliberate policy: thus male ballet-dancers are exempt from military service, but have had to give almost half their time to entertaining the Red Army.

In general, civilian life has been subordinated to military needs to a considerably greater extent than in Britain or America. Thus civilians' clothes are often extremely shabby, though the uniforms of the fighting forces are of good quality. However, thirteen age classes are just about to be demobilized, so that the switch-over from war to peace production, which has already begun, will doubtless soon make life easier. Meanwhile the queues for Moscow buses and street cars are enormous—up to fifty or even a hundred people patiently waiting in line. And women are still doing almost all the heavy work on roads and on house repairs in the cities.

Prices are a puzzle to the visitor from the West. For rationed goods, there are two prices—one, very cheap, for what you are allotted on your ration card; the other, very high at the moment (up to ten or twelve times as much), for what you buy in the open markets (there are 49 of these in Moscow alone), or in the commercial shops run by the state. The open markets and commercial shops also sell all kinds of unrationed goods, but again at very high prices. (Books are the only commodities which sell at prices roughly equivalent to those in Great Britain.) As more consumption goods are produced, the government is gradually lowering the prices in the commercial shops (they have already come down considerably since last year), and this automatically brings down the prices in the open market. The price system seems to be designed to check inflation on the one hand, and on the other hand prevent hoarding or the growth of anything like a strong rentier class.

There is no pretense of equality in the present set-up in Russia. At the moment, class privileges (if I may use the word class in a very wide sense) are, I should say, more marked than in Britain or the United States, though the classes are different, being based on the importance of the work done or the position held. Thus a general has special rations, and can buy at a special discount in the state shops; again, an academician is entitled to more rooms than an ordinary professor or civil servant: and factory managers and various categories of industrial workers, notably Stakhanovites, have special privileges.

One thing has struck all observers during the war—and before it: the health and the favored treatment of the Russian children. I cherish the memory of happy little Moscow boys and girls making crowns of dandelion flowers, on the grass below the grim walls of the Kremlin.

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The general impression given by the USSR at the moment is of a giant nation at last fully conscious of its strength and of its future possibilities of development, both material and intellectual, but still, largely as a result of unhappy memories from the past, somewhat suspicious of the capitalist West, its life still isolated from the rest of the world to a greater extent than that of any other important nation.

The celebrations of the Academy of Sciences, held so soon after the end of the German war, demonstrate the desire of the USSR for fuller international coöperation in all spheres and constitute one important step toward breaking down this isolation. We may, I think, hope for further steps in the near future, such as the exchange of advanced students and professors. In any case, it is abundantly clear to any visitor from Britain or the United States that mutual confidence among our three nations is indispensable for peace and peaceful development in this troubled world of ours.

London JULIAN HUXLEY

Philippine Powder Keg

America's Opportunity and Responsibility

If the United States does not continue in some sort of supervisory capacity in the Philippines, but instead sets the islands adrift in fulfilment of the independence pledge, there will be civil strife throughout the archipelago. In a pattern of unrest and threatened violence that is almost identical with that taking place in some of the liberated countries of Europe, the Philippine guerrilla forces represent a people's genuine resistance movement which seeks sweeping economic, social and political reforms as against the continued domination by the vested interests behind the present civil government.

Dissident political activities of some guerrilla forces and their dissatisfaction with the newly reëstablished Osmena civil regime have been reported. A large party of guerrillas in a Pampanga town have already set up their own little government, issued their own currency, have their own flag and to all intents and purposes have seceded from the regular Philippine authorities.

A story rarely reported in American newspapers is the case of the Makapili organization, consisting of some 20,000 Filipinos who were actively coöperating with Japanese forces. They were situated in the provinces of Rizal, Tayabas and Laguna, in the neighborhood of Laguna de Bay, the Philippines' largest inland body of water. Many of the Makapilis wore Japanese uniforms or the blue-cotton outfits of their organization. These Filipinos are mostly veterans of Bataan who had been freed by the Japanese after lengthy indoctrination courses in the Greater East Asia ideology. They will leave behind a heritage of bitterness and revenge, as the loyal Filipinos hate and despise them. The existence of the Makapilis and their sympathizers will make for subsequent strife if not civil war until they are exterminated or neutralized.

There are a great number of collaborationists, both in the government and in business, who worked with the Japanese but are still free. Most of them give the excuse that the late President Manuel Quezon had given them carte blanche when he had told some Filipino officials to remain behind and in office in order to aid the people over the trying occupation period. But most of these officials and industrialists profited immensely during the Japanese occupation and are still undisturbed in their possessions. It was common knowledge in the islands that some sort of understanding had been reached by President Quezon with the Japanese government during his several weeks' visit to Tokyo back in 1937. Quezon wanted independence and wrongly thought that he and his countrymen would have to live in a Japanese-dominated East Asia.

To the average Filipino, politics is an absorbing passion and the present unrest, since the liberation, has numerous causes. One of the oddest, and yet one of the most important points of dissatisfaction with the present Sergio Osmena set-up is due to a peculiar quirk in Filipino psychology. Yes, they will tell an American correspondent earnestly, Osmena is a fine man, a good, kind, honest man, and a fine Vice President—but he was elected Vice President, mind you, and Vice President he should remain. A guerrilla chief should be made President! With the general elections scheduled for November, fireworks are in prospect.

Most Filipinos when cornered will agree that independence at this time is foolhardy. But the Osmena government group cannot renounce what they have advocated so vehemently for so many years, without losing face—a suicidal act in the Far East. The guerrilla groups want independence because they believe they will be able to acquire greater power, greater freedom, a better chance economically. They feel that if a Commonwealth government is continued, the same old powerful, wealthy group will run things for their own benefit from Manila. The United States cannot insist upon retaining the islands even though our intentions are of the best—that is, to put them back on their feet economically—without laying ourselves open to the cry of "imperialism" and the loss of our new-found prestige in the Far East as a liberating, promise-remembering friend.

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That there will be some sort of revolution, peaceful or otherwise, is certainly in the cards if the Filipinos are to establish any sort of truly democratic regime, and it must be on both a political and an economic basis.

Little is heard here in the United States of the demands and desires of the guerrilla groups, and what they have been fighting for. They have been fighting not simply because they "love America," but because the Philippines are their home islands. They have been fighting first of all for freedom from the hated Japanese, next for a decent economic chance, and third, for more political freedom than they had under the one-party rule of President Quezon. All that we have heard here is the voice of that super-publicist, Brigadier General Carlos P. Romulo, who is one of the most eloquent orators in the United States, but who in the islands has never been elected to political office and who has always been a spokesman for the conservative clique.

The Philippine economy has for the past 40 years or so been closely tied to the American, since before the war, Philippine sugar, coconut oil, hemp, lumber and other products were allowed in duty-free. In the transitional period that must intervene, if the islands are to rehabilitate themselves in agriculture and industry, these tariff exemptions should be continued.

Social unrest, the result of exploitation, has always been present. The largest single land-holder in the Philippines is the Catholic Church. Its plantations and properties have had a long and troubled history with the Taos, as Filipino farmers are called. At Buenavista, one of its estates of several hundred thousand acres, unrest was continuous right up to the outbreak of the war. In prewar days, Taos earned 10 to 15 pesos ($5 to $7.50) per month, which allowed them a bare subsistence. Almost to a man, they were victimized by usurious practices which extracted as high as 200 and 300 percent yearly interest on small loans and left them perpetually in debt and little more than bondsmen to the owners. Similar conditions existed on the islands of Negros, Panay, Mindanao, in fact, wherever sugar, copra and hemp formed the cash crop. Most of the Negros sugar planters were absentee landlords in the worst sense of the word, many of them residing the year round in Manila, generally in palatial homes on Taft Avenue. In their absence the plantations were run ruthlessly, without thought for conservation either of the land or of human rights.

Today it is hard to conceive how prostrate the Philippines are. Manila, which has always been the literal heart and center of the more than 7,000 islands that make up the archipelago, is today more than 70 percent in ruins. The island industries have been wiped out. Sugar, which was the number-one item of export, has been almost completely eliminated. The Japanese put fields to other agricultural uses such as cotton and vegetables, and let other thousands of acres turn sour. It will take at least three years to restore plantations to their former productivity. Most of the sugar-refining centrals have been razed. The copra industry, too, has been ruined. Thousands of acres of coconut groves have been allowed to deteriorate and crops have not been gathered. The processing mills have also been blown up and the expensive, imported machinery stolen or destroyed. It will take years before they can be rebuilt and replaced. The hemp industry, which was almost entirely in Japanese hands on the island of Mindanao, is laid waste.

A good part of Philippine industry and business was in the hands of a number of large American firms. All their property has been destroyed and most of the Americans who suffered the incredible torture and hardships of three years in the internment camps of Santo Tomás, Los Banos, Bilibid, etc., have been returned to the United States to recuperate. Comparatively few of them will ever come back. The mining industry is a case in point. It was largely in American hands and most of the mines were demolished by the American engineers before they fell into the hands of the Japanese. It is unlikely that American capital and American engineers will venture there again, especially if the islands are to be independent immediately.

At present, literally nothing is being done by individuals to bring conditions back to normal. The only force that is doing anything to remedy the unimaginable chaos brought about by the barbaric destruction of the Japanese, is the United States Army. Thousands of Filipino workers have been hired to clear away wreckage and debris from the streets of Manila and other liberated towns and barrios and to restore essential services to the public. Other thousands are employed in shipping, hauling and handling Army supplies. They are paid in the new peso backed by the United States and the Philippine government.

The recent visit and recommendations of Senator Millard E. Tydings in connection with rehabilitation in the Philippines should be looked at closely. Tydings recommended the outright gift of $100 million by the United States to the Philippines and the immediate establishment of independence. He says that he does not return "exuding optimism" or planning to force the islands to take their chances in the world market. He seems to believe that the United States must assume responsibility for the Philippine economy whether or not the islands' sugar can find a market.

But it is to be seriously doubted whether Congress will at this time extend aid in the hundreds of millions of dollars requested, to a Philippines that will unquestionably be independent in a very short time. The same old forces in the United States in favor of a free Philippines, namely the domestic sugar and oil interests, will no doubt see to it that they are not troubled again with competition from the islands.

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What the Philippines really need is a ten-year period of further close coöperation and tutelage under American institutions. Such a cooling-off period would guarantee economic and political liberties for all, as well as promise higher standards of living for all Filipinos, especially the farmer class. Then and only then should greater economic aid be extended to the islands. Then, too, private American capital will flow back to the islands, and with the aid of American technical skill, their complete rehabilitation will be accomplished. Honest, efficient and representative government is the first essential. Finally, the United States should lift its immigration ban on Filipinos. They should be allowed the same right to become American citizens as are other nationals who come here on a quota basis. They have earned that right on the fields of Bataan, on Luzon, Mindanao and wherever they have shed their blood.

BERT COVIT

Health Insurance in Politics

THE GROWTH of health insurance in the United States has been stunted by AMA toxin," cried a speaker at the National Health Conference of 1938, "but now we may happily expect it to flourish as a result of strong doses of vitamins A-F-L—C-I-O." When organized labor sponsored the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill in 1943, congressional action was precluded by war and political conditions as well as by a $500,000 campaign of pamphleteering and lobbying on the part of some physicians, medical societies and drug manufacturers. Limited forms of health insurance are advocated by these groups as a hoped-for antidote to governmental action. But the American public is slowly becoming aware of the nation's medical needs. For this reason, the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill, which was reintroduced in revised form into Congress last May, is likely to make President Roosevelt's sixth human right—"adequate medical care"—one of the leading domestic issues.

Although other bills to expand care for veterans, dental service and research, psychiatry and hospital construction are also pending—some of them backed by so curious an amalgam as the American Medical Association, the CIO, the American Hospital Association, the AFL, the National Farmers' Union and the Farm Bureau Federation—the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill overshadows all specialized health legislation. It offers a comprehensive, nationwide insurance scheme, covering nearly all employed and self-employed persons, including dependents. Federal grants and loans would be provided for communities which lack medical facilities. Additional grants would be given to the states for public health, maternity and child care, and to aid in medical research and education. Even those not directly affected would be included if local and state governments, which are responsible for them, make appropriate additional payments. Home nursing and limited dental care would also be provided.

Patients will be free to choose their own doctors and hospitals. Doctors are free to decide whether they will enter the health-insurance system or not. If they do, they may choose by collective bargaining the method of payment. Individual doctors or minority medical groups will also be protected in their right of choice. Medical group practice would be encouraged. Voluntary health-insurance plans meeting necessary standards could continue to operate within the framework of the national system.

The program is to be financed by a 1.5 percent payroll deduction from both employer and employee; 3 percent from self-employed persons (3 percent of income is the present average amount spent by American families for physicians' and hospital services). Dentistry, home nursing, hospital and public-health grants are to be paid out of national taxation revenue. The payroll deductions for health insurance would be collected as part of the total social-security contribution of 8 percent, equally divided between employee and employer. The Surgeon General of the Public Health Service will be the administrator of the medical system, with an advisory council of professional and lay persons whose powers have been broadened as compared with the 1943 bill. Decentralized administration of the medical services is provided through state and local agencies, with local advisory committees in each area, including professional and public representatives.

All this is part of a general revision of the Social Security Act which extends old-age and survivors' insurance to farmers and other large groups not now included. It increases unemployment compensation to cover part of the wages lost through temporary illness.

For twenty years most medical journals have fed their readers misrepresentations of health insurance. The maintenance of professional values has become identified with fear of economic change. And many doctors believe it right to support the National Physicians' Committee for the Extension of Medical Services, the propaganda arm of the American Medical Association. This committee has distributed 15 million pamphlets; it has used paid advertising lavishly; it has sent quantities of canned editorials and releases to 12,000 newspapers and other publications; it has announced that the American way of life is at stake and declared that the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill would establish "political medicine," would make the Sur-

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geon General a dictator over every physician and hospital, would regiment patients and destroy incentive for present and future doctors.

The *Journal of the American Medical Association* editorially attacked the bill shortly after its introduction—an attack especially directed against the physicians supporting it. The members of the Physicians' Forum, all of whom belong to the AMA, are described as "mostly inclined toward communism." The campaign of the National Physicians' Committee and its allies is no less "mendacious"—to borrow a word applied to it by a staff article in *Fortune* magazine last December—because there are many sincere and high-minded professional men among its backers. For the sake of those physicians and of the American people, the methods, the sources of funds, the commercial and political ramifications of this campaign should be publicly explored.

The strategy of the campaign is partly to misrepresent the actual contents of the legislative proposals, partly to appeal to emotions and prejudices. The proponents of the measure are identified with radicalism. How effective will this strategy prove to be? Winston Churchill put a national health service, far more thorough-going than anything the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill proposes, among the foremost domestic planks in the platform on which a Conservative government sought reëlection. How "radical" is Mr. Churchill? How "radical" is the Canadian Medical Association, which has officially approved the principle of a compulsory health-insurance bill, now pending in their Parliament? Why did the Republican Governor of California propose compulsory health insurance in that state six months ago, and fight vigorously, though unsuccessfully, to obtain such legislation?

Medical care does not become a political issue because of the ambition of politicians, but because many people suffer from a lack of medical services and have to bear burdensome sickness costs, and because a good many people are aware that remedies can be had through public action. The opinion polls demonstrate this. But they also show that most people are as yet vague about the best methods of action.

What happened in California this spring showed that such obstructive tactics as name-calling, or delaying tactics—such as asking people to wait while voluntary plans try to expand—are not important once popular demand for health insurance has reached a certain intensity. In California the limited health-insurance plan of the State Medical Society after five years had enrolled less than two percent of the state's population. The Society's bill for public subsidy of their plan got nowhere. The effective attacks on the compulsory health-insurance proposals were not accomplished by smears and slogans, but by realistic arguments. The State Chamber of Commerce, for example, claimed that the payment of doctors and hospitals would eat up much more money than the proposed payroll deductions would yield. On the other hand, a report prepared at the request of the legislature by the Bureau of Public Administration at the University of California declared that the yield would be ample. Another issue concerned the method of paying doctors. The controversy made it clear that the various methods of payment—fee-for-service, salary, per-capita—affect the quality of care and its cost. Thus issues are transformed from the "all-or-nothing" to the "how-or-how-much" variety.

The 1945 Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill shows the strong influence of liberal doctors in its provisions to protect professional freedom and to promote better organized service and a high quality of care. On the financial side, there is an advance toward a fuller sharing of costs, and on the administrative side, toward decentralization and the responsible participation of the states and localities. The bill, however, is still primarily a labor bill. While the sponsorship of labor gives health insurance political status, it cannot automatically guarantee passage of a measure which affects the well-being and the pocketbook of everybody. Organized labor must do more to inform its own membership about the health legislation which it officially favors. Those businessmen, civic leaders and farm and church groups who favor good medical care for all must coöperate with labor and physicians in working out the ways in which this objective is to be attained.

MICHAEL M. DAVIS

Nature of Voyage

This isn't my country
I don't know what's under the stones
or whether the sound at night
is a ground dove or moans

This isn't my country
I take a look at the sky
and can't tell whether the wind
will make the housetops fly

The green looks like poison
The breadfruit tree is a leper
and any plant may be
sour or sweet or pepper

I recognize a rat
in any land a brother
but the creeping and crawling and flying
may be one thing or another

This isn't my country:
the foreign smell at the cave
the wind that stops and starts
and smells like an open grave

VINCENT MC HUGH

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Washington Notes

Unfinished Business

THE HOUSE has started on its juicy, 11-week wartime vacation to October 8, no doubt happy in the extra non-taxable $2,500 expense money it voted itself, and if we can keep the Japanese war going till it returns, there will probably be no great immediate unemployment or reconversion crisis. After the Senate polishes off the San Francisco Charter ratification, it, too, will depart till October. International affairs have had the inside track at this session; domestic matters, and all Mr. Truman's polite little prodding notes to committee chairmen, have been ignored. Congress is blandly leaving reconversion in a mess.

Let's take international matters first. The Senate is going to approve the charter by a deceptively large vote. It won't tell the real story. The voters have gone internationalist and the Senate ex-isolationists are bowing to the storm. The best test of the real isolationist sentiment was on the Taft amendment to the Bretton Woods Act last week, which would have delayed and, according to Majority Leader Barkley, killed the measure. This was defeated, 31 ayes, 52 nays. Note that this was more than the one-third-plus-one needed to kill a treaty ratification. Undoubtedly it included some sincere internationalists, like Ball and Burton. Plausible isolationists can always win over a few internationalists on any given reservation. Cassandra-Taft, that strange GOP phenomenon, who has one of the best mole-hill minds in the Senate, who looks at world problems with the myopic eye of an income-tax lawyer, who arrives by the most logical processes at the most preposterous conclusions, who has rare and indefatigable intellectual gifts with virtually no understanding, whose sour-pickle face breaks out attractively now and then into a charming small-boy grin—Taft, I say, led the Republicans, 28 to 8, into their usual bemused morass. Barkley had a letter from Truman to read if a defeat were really threatened, but he didn't have to use it.

Congress has done well on the international front. On the home front it is showing the same stubborn apathy toward the imminent reconversion crisis that caused it, four months before Pearl Harbor, to come within one vote of rejecting the Selective Service Act extension. It has only half done its job, with all the emphasis on business rather than the human side.

To aid corporations it has passed a reconversion tax bill, worth $5.5 billion; a war-contract-termination-settlement bill; the general-reconversion bill setting up the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion, now headed by John Snyder; and a muddled surplus-property-disposal program. The latter is probably unworkable in its present form and there have been three heads in six months to dispose of some $100 billion of war surplus which threatens private industry like an avalanche. Congress doesn't really know what to do about this and has set up a scapegoat board, under the new head, W. Stuart Symington, which it will blame for whatever happens. Truman asked Congress to make this a one-man board, but Congress is taking its vacation without acting. So much for business.

On the human side, Congress hasn't done much. McNutt has estimated at least 7.5 million unemployed during the year after V-J Day. Truman strongly recommended federal supplements for inadequate state unemployment-benefit payments, with a minimum of $25 for 26 weeks. Congress isn't acting. The full-employment program, backed by Fred M. Vinson, Mr. Truman's new Secretary of the Treasury, has been introduced. Congress hasn't acted. The same for the WLB-Vinson plan to boost basic wage rates from 40 to 65 cents an hour. Again, all planners have urged accumulation of a big shelf of public works as unemployment insurance; Congress cut the proposed $75 million fund to stimulate state and local authorities to draw plans for non-federal public works to $17.5 million. Truman asked Congress for a permanent FEPC to reduce racial and religious discrimination in the difficult transition era; it hasn't acted. Finally, although it has passed a generous GI Bill of Rights, it has, consciously or unconsciously, left dangerous ambiguities, like that over workers' seniority, almost certain to cause bitter postwar clashes between veterans and war workers.

Truman has written polite notes to congressional committee heads on these matters. But he has been busy with international affairs; he hasn't put his shoulder to the wheel. And conservatives have been balancing off energetic New Dealers in high places. Most conspicuous example of this is conservative John Snyder, Arkansas and Missouri banker and the new "assistant President," as War Mobilization Director, while zealous New Dealer Fred M. Vinson leaves the War Mobilization post for the Treasury. Mr. Snyder will be one of the most interesting men to watch in Washington, in one of the most vital spots. Off-hand, I should say he represents the new "practical" type of man coming in with Truman who believes in conciliating Congress, placating business and going slow on reforms.

Notes. – The "B2H1" labor bill, which claims to be impartial, actually is bizarrely naïve in its anti-labor restrictions. Labor, however, is terribly vulnerable for the coming postwar survival struggle, riven by dissension and with millions of irresponsible, undisciplined new members. This bill serves fair notice of what is coming if labor doesn't close ranks (which it probably can't). . . . Great Britain doesn't like Bretton Woods much but will sign up. . . . Readers of this column should not be surprised at Ickes' news of a world coal emergency; we have pointed out that in Europe it is a race between coal and chaos. . . . W. Stuart Symington, new Surplus Property board head, held his first press conference in the police line-up room, just beyond the Missing Persons Bureau, of the District municipal building where his office has been crammed. He stood before a height-measurement scale used for suspects (3 feet 9, to 6 feet 6) and reporters wondered how his stature would eventually stack up. . . . A "small" export-import-bank credit of $1 billion for Russia—or about what the Soviet needs for one year—is in the works. Policy is to keep the matter on a short-term basis for bar-

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gaining purposes. . . . President Truman took abroad for discussion an "unconditional-surrender" formula requiring return of stolen territory and complete demolition of Japanese air, naval and munitions industries, in return for which Japan would escape direct invasion or occupation, but would face a supervisory force whose job would be to see that the terms were obeyed.

Washington T. R. B.

International Notes

The New Europe

ALTHOUGH the new Dutch cabinet of Premier Willem Schermerhorn includes men who directed the Netherlands war effort in London and others who led the resistance movement inside the country, its reception in the Dutch press was not as cordial as might be expected. One of the most widely circulated papers, *Het Parool* (labor), a leading underground journal, noted that the cabinet was led by "idealists and theoretical politicians who must now prove themselves to be realists." Willem Drees (labor), the "second man," who assisted Schermerhorn, however, the paper pointed out, "is a realist with sufficient idealism to ensure unity in government. The only question is whether the idealists . . . will have sufficient self-control to subject themselves to the demands of reality."

De Maasbode (Roman Catholic) applauded the inclusion of both "new" and "old" elements in the cabinet. Referring specifically to Drees as an "old" element, the paper stated that "we Catholics find many points of agreement with the Socialists," but expressed displeasure over the fact that Catholics, who comprise one-third of the population, were not proportionately represented. While the Communist *Het Vrije Volk* did not consider the exclusion of Communists very significant, as "the supreme demand is for reconstruction and recovery," the extreme rightist *Nieuwe Haagsche Courant* (Calvinist) was highly critical. It observed that because of the exclusion of the extreme Right and Left, "we miss important components of our national spiritual composition and historic cultural development. We doubt whether the conception 'national' as applied to this cabinet has been carried out to everyone's satisfaction." Similarly, *Het Binnenhof* (Catholic) declared, "it would appear that those who formed the cabinet had not succeeded in obtaining representatives of the various shades of political differences. . . . The cabinet appears to be more a business cabinet of men selected with a view to their suitability to fulfill their task and with political coloration only a secondary consideration—although the latter has not entirely been lost sight of."

The basic objection to the government, one not clearly stated in the Dutch papers, is that the large corporations still exert great influence. Of the ministers, one is a former director of the Royal Dutch Shell combine, and another is an employee of the N. V. Philips interests.

Norway.—The most striking characteristic of the new Norwegian government is that all but two of the fifteen members have been active in the resistance movement within the country. Six were members of the central organization which directed the whole Norwegian home front. Mrs. Kirsten Hansteen, the first woman ever to be included in a Norwegian cabinet, has edited the underground paper, *Women's Front*, since 1941. Within the common area of home-front participation, the party balance has been preserved. Against the six members of the Labor Party are ranged one Liberal, one Conservative and one Agrarian, who are backed by four non-partisans whose political background is rightist. The two new Communist members represent an innovation in Norwegian politics. They will not only add breadth to the cabinet, but are expected to be influential in mapping the government's course in social and labor fields during the immediate postwar period. Continuity and stability within two important ministries are preserved by the retention of Foreign Minister Trygve Lie and Defense Minister Oscar Torp, both members of the exiled government.

The new executive, headed by Einar Gerhardsen, represents a marked departure from Norwegian political precedent. Members, or former members, of Parliament are conspicuous by their absence. General opinion was summed up by *Verdens Gang*: "After all that has happened, we need political revitalizing, and the new ministers have all been tried and tempered in the resistance movement's hard school. They are unencumbered, clean-cut and disinterested personalities, and it is a pleasure to see that they are now willing to enter political life under peaceful conditions."

Czecho-Slovakia.—The new government is composed of representatives of the underground National Front, including the Czech Socialist Party (led by President Benes), the Social Democrats (led by Premier Zdenek Fierlinger), the Communists (led by Vice Premier Klement Gottwald) and the Catholic Popular Democratic Party (led by Mgr. Sramek). The Agrarian and other parties which collaborated with the Germans or showed fascist leanings have been abolished. Of the 25 members of the cabinet, 9 are Slovaks and 16 are Czechs. The government is a central authority which closely collaborates with the Slovak national trustees as the executive of the Slovak National Council. The entire monetary and credit system, key plants in industry, insurance, natural resources, electricity and water-power are to be gradually placed under state direction.

Notes.—News from Vienna; Karl Seitz, the chairman of the Social Democratic Party and mayor of the Austrian capital, one of the most popular labor leaders, has come home from a German concentration camp. . . . Athanasios Klaras, Communist founder of ELAS, was killed in a mountain engagement with the National Guard near Arta in northwestern Greece. . . . The first national congress of the French CP since liberation was held in Paris toward the end of June. The new Central Committee named an eight-man political bureau consisting of Maurice Thorez, Jacques Duclos, André Marty, Marcel Cachin, Arthur Ramette, Raymond Guyot, Francois Billout and Charles Tillon. The last two are members of the de Gaulle cabinet. . . . Generals Modesto and Lister of the Spanish Loyalist army are now in France. . . . The Spanish fascist Ministry of Foreign Affairs has allocated a total of 11,100,000 pesetas for the "intensification" of "cultural exchange work" abroad. . . . An Italian government commission has drawn up a plan

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for administrative autonomy in the partly French-speaking Val d'Aosta. . . . The central committee of the Danish Social Democratic Party has set up party courts to investigate accusations of collaborationism brought against its own members. . . . Trade unions in Berlin, established with Soviet aid, already number 200,000 members. The central executive is headed by Otto Brass, a metal worker, who last belonged to the Socialist Labor Party, a left-wing splinter of the Social Democrats. E. L. P.

War without Glamour

"SAN PIETRO" is an Army Pictorial Service filming of the Allied attempts, late in 1943, to take the town of San Pietro at the head of the Liri Valley in Italy. It is only thirty minutes long and its coverage is sketchy; but it is an absolutely unromantic, depressing account of war, and each of its shots seems to me to create deep and intense emotions. The scenes of the valley are awesome; those of the battle are confused, terrifying, surprising and tragic; and the ending, in which soldiers and villagers cautiously work their way into the town, is one of the most eloquent I have seen. The view of battle is always that of the soldier; the image, taken from flat positions on the ground or on the run, is constantly jumping and cringing from enemy fire, and is always of a small confused area of the struggle. Also the various elements of the battle—the noise, the danger, the task—are shown in the way they affect the soldiers. You are made very aware of the rough mountain terrain and the weather at particular moments, but always in terms of what difficulty the soldiers have in getting over the ground, or of hiding in it or finding the enemy in it. An insistent note is that of the loss of life and of the terrible arduousness of the task, which interacts with the realization that these four or five hills being fought for are backed up by miles of other hills. The treatment of soldiers and villagers in close-ups is warm, loving, adroit in finding the individual eloquence and in getting the most in natural action from a person who knows he is being photographed.

Major John Huston supervised the filming, wrote the commentary, which is used at great length and very well to make the movie more intense, and delivers it himself in a carefully enunciated, unrelenting manner. He uses the medium with a good deal of sureness, and with a skill (similar to Capra's in his Signal Corps films) for molding fairly disconnected material into events that are very dramatic and have a beginning, a middle and an end. He has made San Pietro a melancholy, confused, tragic episode, and has conveyed a greater sense of individual suffering—which is not so much heroism as infinite endurance and dignity—than any other Hollywood director who has made war documentaries. Some of the scenes are edged subtly, and perhaps in some cases unintentionally, with irony: for instance the commentary on the strategy of the battle and its progress is as coherent, all-seeing and military as the movie's view of the battle is chaotic and limited to what the soldier sees. There is a foreword in which General Mark Clark explains the importance of the Liri Valley: the shot of him is strong and unsentimentalized, taken from below and to the side, continually suggesting the decisive, unwavering military man. The introductory glimpses of the Liri Valley show it after it has been thoroughly ravaged by the battle while the commentary describes it as it is in normal times, fertile and beautiful. A typical description is that of the bombed-out chancel of a San Pietro church: ". . . note interesting treatment on chancel." My only reservations are the director's evident satisfaction at having more commentary than movie, his use of a number of sequences that have been shot the same way in quite a few documentaries, and the music in the final sequence.

This last episode, which shows the villagers slowly following the soldiers into the town, clearing away debris, being hurt by a last exploding mine, beginning to rebuild their houses, is a beautifully phrased, selected and photographed passage in which every scene is toned with sadness, perseverance and dignity. This section is dominantly made up of views of the town's children and the various expressions of innocence, shyness and hopefulness they assume while watching the cameraman, expressions overlying the somber and still secret knowledge of what they have been living through during the battle for their village. They are shown moving gently and skillfully, like so many bugs, through the wrecked streets, managing somehow to give this part of the movie a mood of benevolence and joy. The sequence is one of the finest in this war's films, though its ending, which shows a pretty farm land, well fed cows and has a commentary full of conventionally idealistic statements of what the war was about, seems to me out of keeping with the depressing, unromanticized picture that has preceded it. MANNY FARBER

Science and Technology

Psychosomatic Medicine

PSYCHOSOMATIC MEDICINE is the somewhat awkward name for an approach to medical problems which began to gain wide scientific recognition in the decade before the war and has attracted a large number of new adherents within the medical profession as a result of Army experience. The conception on which it is based is as old as the art of medicine itself, but became obscured in the latter part of the nineteenth century by the mechanistic tendency of the physical sciences in that period. Stated colloquially, the idea is merely that when a man or woman is sick, it is the person who must be treated and not merely an arm, a heart, or a nerve. According to this view, every illness has both its physical and its emotional components. This is not at all to say that every illness is psychogenic, a term which is falling into disrepute among those who understand psychosomatic medicine. They rather conceive of the body and the psyche as being merely different aspects of a single organic unit, which are separated not in objective reality but only in our manner of observing and speaking.

The idea was expressed as follows in a paper by Doctors Flanders Dunbar and Jacob Arlow at the Centennial Meeting of the American Psychiatric Association in 1944:

> The dichotomy which it is often felt is implied by the terms psyche and soma does not exist in the organism itself, but has grown out of the manner in which scientific method has been applied in medicine. The psychosomatic method is merely a

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stereoscopic superposition of the images derived from the two principal groups of techniques which medicine has employed, the physiological and psychological. The perspective so obtained should be valuable in dealing with all human diseases, even with some not yet recognized as disease entities.

The old-fashioned family doctor recognized this truth and utilized it in his practice, but a new scientific basis has been laid for the method by recent researches in physiology and clinical medicine. For instance, Cannon and his associates have traced numerous physical accompaniments of fear and rage, such as redistribution of the blood supply from the internal organs to the skeletal muscles, changes in the chemical composition of the blood itself, more rapid heart action and muscular tension. These changes, which are of course automatic and involuntary, appear to be in the nature of preparation for the type of action which would be appropriate as a response to the stimulus which arouses the emotion, *i.e.*, flight or combat. Such physical accompaniments of emotion are, under appropriate circumstances, normal and healthy. When, however, the usual response is prevented or in some way inhibited or confused, discharge of the mobilized energy may not take place and the bodily changes tend to persist, or the energy may become discharged in some pathogenic way.

An everyday example is that of the person who becomes ill as a result of anxiety in a situation with which he is unable to cope. Thus, a speculator for the rise in the stock market may suffer indigestion or heart trouble during a panic because, although he is afraid, he cannot run away from the danger or do anything to contend with it. Such instances are commonly recognized, but what is not so often recognized is that physical ailments may in the overwhelming majority of cases have a similar history, which can be disentangled from the background of individual experience by the psychiatrically skilled physician.

It has been indicated by recent researches that specific illnesses such as high blood pressure, coronary insufficiency, gastric ulcer or asthma and hay fever are usually associated with specific types of personality. By means of psychiatric examination of hundreds of sufferers from these ailments, "personality profiles" have been developed which are roughly characteristic of each. These profiles are an aid to diagnosis and to treatment. Though the matter is too complex to be summarized briefly without over-simplification, we may say, for example, that the sufferer from coronary disease is likely to be one who has a basic conflict with authority, and has dealt with that conflict by means of hard and unremitting work, pursued with great constancy of purpose, in an effort to get to the top so that he may not be subject to the authority of anyone else. The physical breakdown often comes when this method of defense fails through disappointment in business or personal achievement.

It has even been discovered that a tendency to be injured by accident exists in many persons, and may be called a disease with a set of typical personality profiles. Patients in the fracture ward of a large hospital were used as a control group for a study of patients suffering from cardiovascular disease, rheumatism, diabetes and other ailments. They were chosen for this role on the hypothesis that they would be the most nearly "normal" of any group of patients in the hospital. Careful research showed, however, that a high percentage of them had each suffered from a long series of accidents and presented a typical life history and personality picture. The incidence of accidents had much more correlation with the personality of the accident sufferer than with the risk to which he was exposed. The accidents did not seem to be due to what we ordinarily call clumsiness, and accident-proneness could not be correlated with the results of intelligence or aptitude tests. The accident habit was rather an accompaniment of a certain type of basic conflict and of the habit pattern which the person had developed in dealing with this conflict. Here, as in the coronary cases, trouble with authority seems to be prominent, but the method of dealing with it is entirely different. A large group of the accident-prone run away from authority by changing occupations or personal relationships, and usually receive their injuries at times when such escape is impossible.

Medicine has during the past few decades made rapid progress in dealing with diseases due to microbes or other physical pathogenic agents from the environment. Smallpox, typhoid fever, diphtheria and even tuberculosis have been so well controlled that they have ceased to rank high as causes of illness and death. The same success has not been registered with the so-called functional or chronic diseases, which now place the main burden on the time and skill of doctors and the facilities of hospitals. It is important to control these diseases as well, if public health is to be improved and the burden of socialized medicine is not to be excessive. It is with these very chronic diseases that the psychosomatic approach seems to offer most promise. Indeed, they are now sometimes improperly called the psychosomatic diseases, although, strictly speaking, all disease is psychosomatic. Emotional factors probably have much to do with individual differences in resistance to infection, even of the diseases the active pathogenic agent of which is a germ or virus. On the other hand, the ailments which seem to be more closely associated with psychological factors cannot be said to lack external stimulus, since even personality formation depends largely on environment.

A prominent British physician, Dr. James L. Halliday, took cognizance of this fact when he wrote recently that the prevalence of psychosomatic ailments "rises or falls in accordance with the rise or fall of communal 'upsetting events'; *i.e.*, in accordance with the pressure of environment in its psychological aspects." It has been stated by medical authorities in the American Army that the so-called psychosomatic diseases and psychoneurosis account for about 80 percent of the illnesses of soldiers.

This branch of medicine is still in its infancy. Though the general principles underlying it are increasingly recognized, much remains to be done in identifying the specific emotional components of the several diseases and in tracing the physiological connection between the emotional state and organic dysfunction or lesion. Much also remains to be done in working out the appropriate therapeutic techniques and making them available to the general body of physicians. Needless to say, the authorities on psychosomatic medicine do not recommend deep psychotherapy in every case, and recognize that ordinary medical remedies or even surgery are often advisable. They understood, too, that the job of prevention is fundamentally one of altering the social and economic environment, just as the prevention of the common epidemics has required public-health measures.

GEORGE SOULE

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The Bandwagon

We, who have not displayed the least sign of animosity toward the new governments in the liberated countries, nor any discrimination in international relations, find it hard to understand how other nations can express hostile feelings toward Spain. – *English-language broadcast from the government-controlled Spanish radio, as reported by the FCC and printed in the New York* Herald Tribune.

York township council has declared July 20 a holiday for township employees to enable them to attend the employees' picnic at Port Dalhousie. . . . Any employee who stays away and fails to buy a picnic ticket will be docked a day's pay, council ruled. – *From the Toronto* Daily Star.

In speaking of the arch-collaborationist Pierre Laval, who served as Foreign Minister and Premier, Pétain said: "He was forced on me. I accepted him as a necessary evil. I used him to hide the direction of my politics and unconsciously he played a role useful to France." – *From the New York* Herald Tribune.

Abandon All Hope

ANNOUNCEMENT OF AWARDS, 1944
European History—No award
American History—No award
Pacific History—No award
Similar awards will be made in 1945.
– *From the* Pacific Historical Review.

Total-War Department

Apart from the cathedral, I am told that two Cologne factories remain undestroyed, Ford's and Courtauld's. Since these are outside the city, it is reasonable to think they were deliberately spared. More remarkable, the Opel works, the property of General Motors, are now producing trucks in the otherwise almost wholly devastated town of Rüsselsheim on the Rhine. Again, the I. G. Farben works at Höchst-on-Main, in which American firms have been associated, were never bombed, and the inhabitants there say it was so well known that these works would not be bombed that they were regularly used as an air-raid shelter! – *From "A London Diary" in the* New Statesman and Nation *(London).*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.* – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

The Divided Supreme Court, Cont'd

SIR: Mr. John P. Frank's article on "The Divided Supreme Court" in the June 18 issue of the *New Republic* calls attention to a phenomenon which has puzzled many thoughtful persons. Seven members of the present Court were appointed to it by President Roosevelt, and it was generally assumed when they were nominated that their basic economic and social views were in harmony with his liberal philosophy. It is Mr. Frank's thesis that "new times have brought new issues which have created meaningful division among the Justices," and that these "differences are founded on deep-rooted convictions." His article leaves the impression, however, that the "deep-rooted" principles which divide the Court are really quite simple: some Justices have remained steadfast in their loyalty to the liberal objectives of the New Deal while other members of the Court, particularly Justices Frankfurter and Jackson, seem to have left their liberalism behind them. The serious divisions in the Court, however, cannot be explained so easily. One must examine the matter more closely; and it is for this reason that I offer a postscript to Mr. Frank's article.

Without attempting to pass judgment upon particular instances of disagreement among the Justices, I would like to suggest an approach which may be helpful in reaching an intelligent understanding of the cleavages in the Court. A clue to the mystery of why the liberal Justices disagree with one another so frequently and so sharply is to be found, not in any difference in their social or economic views, but rather in their divergent conceptions of the role which judges should play in a democratic society. The point can be illustrated by reference to what has increasingly become the most important business of federal judges, namely, the task of interpreting and applying laws enacted by Congress.

Almost all of our affairs are governed or affected to some extent by federal legislation. In the exercise of its constitutional powers Congress has enacted literally thousands of statutes dealing with taxation, labor relations, monopolies, patents, transportation, immigration, bankruptcy, wage and price control, etc.—to mention only the most obvious categories. A dispute may arise as to what a particular law means, and the controversy eventually finds its way to the Supreme Court. How is the case to be decided? The answer is clear. In the language of the lawyer, the only function of the Court is to ascertain and give effect to the "intent" of Congress. To this end the Court will consider all available data which shed light upon the matter, primarily the language of the statute and the committee reports and debates relating to the legislation. The judge who construes a statute must make what is in essence a vicarious judgment: he must determine from all the available evidence what Congress would have done if it had foreseen the particular dispute now before the Court. To be sure, the data furnished by Congress very frequently are meager, and the case necessarily must be decided on the basis of some general considerations of policy. But even in such a case the factors which are ultimately decisive should be derived from a judgment of policy made by Congress, and not by the members of the Court on the basis of their own notions of what is socially or economically desirable.

Under our constitutional system, determination of national social and economic policy is the concern of Congress and the President, not the Supreme Court. Justices of the Supreme Court have neither the authority nor the competence to make such policy. The Court possesses no machinery for making the studies which are so necessary in reaching informed conclusions on complex social and economic questions. It has no investigating bodies; nor can it hold hearings in order to ascertain the views of the public. It cannot formulate comprehensive policies dealing with all aspects of a problem. On the contrary, the processes of litigation are episodic and have little logical or coherent direction. The Court can only decide cases as they happen to come before it. Its members are appointed for life, and can be re-

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moved involuntarily only by death or impeachment. They do not come before the people periodically for approval or disapproval of their work. It would therefore be intolerable for the Court to set itself up as a super-legislature, even though it be composed of men who by present-day standards are regarded as liberals. Experience should teach us that we can have little assurance that the "trust-busting" Justices of today will not become the reactionaries of tomorrow.

For all these reasons it is clear that, in performing his judicial functions, a judge must subordinate his personal or partisan views so far as is humanly possible. In his judicial capacity he should be neither Republican nor Democrat, neither pro-capital nor pro-labor, neither Northerner nor Southerner, neither Protestant, Catholic nor Jew.

This analysis of the nature of the judicial process may seem to the reader to be an elaboration of the obvious. But we know that the intensity with which general principles are held will often determine particular issues. In the readiness with which a judge concludes that the absence of legislative guidance leaves him free to decide on the basis of his own conceptions of policy, we have a fairly reliable index of his lack of respect for the self-limitation which should govern the judiciary in a democratic society. Even the most conscientious judge occasionally finds himself unable to discern the legislative will. But it is another matter when a judge is consistently quick to find that policies embodied in legislation coincide with his own views of what is economically and socially desirable. One may therefore venture the suggestion that divisions may have arisen in the Supreme Court because some of its members adhere more closely than do others to the principle that judges should carefully avoid interpolating their personal notions of policy into law. This adherence is not to be measured by what the Justices say, for almost always both majority and minority opinions will passionately avow their faithfulness to indications of congressional intent. Hence there is no substitute for careful, laborious analysis of particular decisions before one can make confident generalizations about the basic philosophical differences among the Supreme Court Justices.

Washington, D. C. PHILIP ELMAN

What Soldiers Want

SIR: I wish people could be told that soldiers don't care much for bonus proposals. Let Congress wrangle less about paying us off, and apply its brains and will to the task of working out social and economic legislation that means something—new labor codes, a health bill such as the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill . . . equalization of schooling opportunities. We don't want to be bought off with paltry dollars. We gave real things in this war, our years and our blood, and we want a real return for all citizens, not just for soldiers. Easy as it is for many a politician to forget the hopes and promises of '39-'40-'41, when America was being persuaded to go to war, we cannot forget. We do not care to be bought off. . . .

c/o Pm, New York SERGEANT B. G. D.

Negroes in New York

SIR: I find Ruth Danenhower Wilson's article ["Negroes in Greater New York," the *New Republic*, July 16] very interesting and mildly encouraging. But her emphasis seems irritatingly misplaced. It is fine to note that Greater New York is *beginning* to seek pathways to real democracy. However, one must not forget that the other side of the ledger is still overwhelmingly negative for the Negro—even in New York. Many or most of the exceptional corporate and individual attitudes noted in the article are simple adjustments to compulsory practices under the progressive legislation of the state. The very fact that Mrs. Wilson finds it necessary to single out public places which will serve all-comers makes pitifully apparent the remaining degree of noncompliance.

The real value of an analysis of the New York situation would seem to be the living proof that non-segregation does work even in housing, one of the most delicate of fields. However, it seems dangerously complacent to stress New York's comparative "achievements," brought about certainly in some degree by wartime shortages. Let us not forget the size of the task which still lies ahead if we are to eliminate the hollow tone from the word "democracy" for a large segment of our population. We cannot afford to spend another hundred years solving the Negro problem. The world is moving too fast; it won't wait.

Washington, D. C. SHIRLEY M. SZABAD

SIR: To keep the record straight I think a correction is necessary in Ruth D. Wilson's article. She credits the National Maritime Union with half a million members. It paid per capita for 50,000 to the CIO in 1943, and is presently listed as having 90,000 in the official records.

MARK STARR,

New York City Educational Director, ILGWU

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Major Samuel Teitelbaum (a chaplain) writes to describe what he alleges to be the views of Pastor Martin Niemöller. He reports that in a conversation with him and with two Protestant chaplains, Niemöller expressed admiration for the Pope, excused on grounds of political expediency the latter's support of Mussolini's Ethiopian invasion, and denied that the Vatican had backed Franco in Spain. He also claims that Niemöller said that all Christians should band together to attack "bolshevism"; and insisted that the Jews form a distinct racial classification and strongly objected to the immigration of "Eastern" Jews into Germany. Major Teitelbaum considers Pastor Niemöller a "refined Nazi" who would not torture or kill Jews but would like to deprive them of their equal status as citizens.

The American Committee for Spanish Freedom informs us that it is initiating a petition campaign in support of the anti-Franco Coffee Resolution (H. R. 312). It hopes to obtain more than a million signatures demanding "that Congress go on record for a rupture of diplomatic and commercial relations with the fascist-Falangist regime."

The Department of Research and Education of the CIO, 718 Jackson Place, Washington 6, D. C., sends us an excellent pamphlet, "Substandard Wages," presenting the argument for a 65-cents-an-hour minimum wage. Copies may be obtained from this organization for 15 cents each, 100 for $12.

We have received announcements of several contests and awards. Whittlesey House, 330 West Forty-second Street, New York 18, offers a first prize of $5,000 and other $1,000 prizes "to enable competent authors to write on scientific subjects for the layman." The outline of a book, together with about 10,000 words, must be submitted by December 1. Columbia Pictures, 729 Seventh Avenue, New York City, joins with Thomas Y. Crowell and a British publisher, to announce a prize of $6,000, plus movie rights and book royalties, to be given to any past or present member of the armed forces for "the most suitable book-length manuscript on any subject, either fiction or non-fiction, received on or before June 30, 1946." The Radio Corporation of America, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, announces 10 $600 scholarships to be awarded for the academic year 1945-46. "Those eligible will include all students enrolled at universities to be selected by the RCA Education Committee. Selection of students will be made upon recommendation of the dean of the specified university and approval of the committee." Further details about these awards may be obtained by writing to the organizations sponsoring them.

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Books in Review

Fate Is As You Fashion It

As between John Calvin and W. E. Henley, Jerome Frank is against the gods. If man is not the master of his fate, he is not the puppet of heaven's election. If conditions make events possible, they do not make them inevitable. Fate may decree the range of discretion; freedom shapes the choice. Thus, as in agora and forum, by scholastic and humanist, the idea of responsibility is pitted against the idea of determinism; and, in a book[1] of outstanding importance, an ancient bout in dialectic is done over into the idiom of our times. In the process a distinguished judge enlists modern learning in the cause of democracy.

In an older America the idea of man as the creature of fate had hard going. The great open spaces, the ease of movement, the idea of progress, the domestic version of the rights of man were all against it. The notion of what-is-to-be-will-be never caught on. The individual was captain of his soul; the nation forever at the crossroads. Witness the few who accepted predestination compared with the multitude who trooped into the evangelical churches. It was at a late date, and through the higher learning, that fatalism came into our midst. It came by way of deistic theology, classical economics, Hegelian philosophy, Marxian dialectic, a history which made the human race the victim of "great social forces which moved of their own weight and majesty." In the grip of nature's inexorable laws, the folk were doomed to a gladiatorial existence. Science took away what the old-time religion had given.

The author goes after this erudition, imported from a decadent Europe, with all the weapons of the lawyer's craft. In whatever form it appears, he demands of mechanistic determinism a modest measure of proof. The laws, the blind immutable laws, which shape destiny rest upon no evidence a court would accept. Dates may consist of precise digits—but we do not know exactly what they signify. Documents may be quite authentic—yet, in seeking within them a life which is gone, we employ a dust-covered mirror. As often as not the recitation is hearsay, framed to a purpose now obscure. Little that is left has stood the fire of critical examination. A great deal of what went into an event was never set down; time has imposed its uncritical selection upon what was written. An attempt to fill blanks, to fit out with motives, to discover drive and perspective opens gates through which the present rushes to remake the past. The how of a great event gets all tangled up; the why responds to no historian's whistle.

The law knows nothing of "naked fact"; the reality it elicits is in response to the questions it asks. The best with which it can come across is "the facts of the case." But these emerge from a babble of voices, played upon by the folkways of juristic ordeal, and amount to nothing more than "the facts as found." The judge's process of inquiry is immediate and direct; the historian must carry on across the decades and has no writs whereby to summon the presence of ghosts. No wonder that Macaulay could remark of Hume that he was "an accomplished advocate" and that Mark Pattison could later remark that Macaulay's is "the mind of an advocate." James Franklin Jameson, wisest of our historians, used to say that every volume of Bancroft voted for Andrew Jackson. But if history just can't get written right, what is the evidence—even the fallible court evidence—for all these laws of civilization and decay?

An equally keen thrust is directed at "the science" of economics. Reputable theory today occupies a sacred tower unassailable by industrial fact. In its classic form it was not induced from a study of the phenomena of wealth; it was deduced by sheer analogy from Newton's physics. Even today it breathes the spirit of an old book—there were many of its kind—entitled *The Newtonian System of the World the Best Model of Government*. It is Pope's unsupported line in which Nature bids self-love and social to be the same, elaborated by tricks of mind into an erudite dialectic. As Arnold remarked—how Thurman would wish that it were he rather than Matthew who said it—it accents "the old Adam in Adam Smith." As a result we know how price-in-general is made, even without inquiry into the prices of such earthly things as tin, oil, whisky, cottonseed, waste paper and women's dresses. And we know the structure of *an* industry, even though steel, plastics, photo film, news services, liberal weeklies, ethical drugs may have patterns that are radically different. Thus we are long on how the national economy is supposed to work and short of a single reliable account of how it does actually operate. The topography of industry is not uniform: law, order, symmetry savor more of esthetic desire than of current reality. You cannot employ such a science to impose a world of scarcity upon Us the People.

To Jerome Frank, the greatest of superstitions is the idea of science applied to man's affairs. There is no laboratory for controlled experiment in human behavior; and so different is human conduct from natural phenomena as to make a carry-over worthless. The analogies are the more defective because they are based upon an obsolete science. Modern physics has discarded the rigid stereotype for the statistical probability; modern biology has passed on from Darwin to Mendel and Morgan. And, moving to the attack, Jerome Frank throws the relationship of science to the humanities into reverse. What to us nature may be is itself a social fact. We do not even now know what matter is. We know matter only in terms of the experiments which have been performed, and the experiments are themselves instruments of the few questions we have asked. If the intellectual climate had been different, other questions would have led to a different conception of matter. As in law, so in science, the thing we see is a product of the thing that is, the method of inquiry, the interest which prompts the search.

So far, then, as man is in prison, his captivity is self-imposed. As perception has its limit in the senses, so knowl-

[1] Fate and Freedom: A Philosophy for Free Americans, by Jerome Frank. New York: Simon and Schuster. 375 pages. $3.

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edge is pent in by the climate of opinion. We carry on, we cannot escape carrying on, by benefit of a series of fictions, or just-so stories. The mind has its passing ways; and the regnant fashion opens a vista that was closed or shuts out one that was open. As exposures are afforded, human qualities heretofore dormant are quickened into being. Where are the Miltons of an age which knew no poverty; the Henry Fords of a machineless era? As ways of use are discovered, the stuff of earth is turned into natural resources. Coal is a product of the steam-engine; gasoline, of the technology of internal combustion. The inevitability we face lies largely in concepts acceptable to the high priests of the higher learning; in a way of thought which reflects the pride and prejudice of the scientific tycoons. Fate resides in our employment of contraceptive devices against seminal notions. Salvation lies in the freedom for mind, in the dignity of human personality.

Jerome Frank has, from far and near, gathered into one book the mind which is human, modern, democratic. He has ranged from physics to the law, from anthropology to the arts. He has taken as his raw material the findings of Dewey and Veblen, Holmes and Cardozo, Planck and Langmuir and Vaihinger. It is such a book as Walter Wheeler Cook, who did more than any man of his day to free the law from its dogmatism, often talked of writing but never did. And all his rich materials—one misses G. N. Lewis' fable of the two different yet equally useful geometrics—he focuses upon the problem, Can we determine where we go from here? It is idle to say that the book should be required reading, for those of whom it should be required could never read it. They could never understand, for he makes rubbish out of a large part of our higher learning. And, for our faltering age, he recites the articles of a democratic faith. It is silly, says he, to put up with poverty, when the techniques for its eradication are within reach. Jerome Frank has written a grand book. When we dare to do the things which will make untrue the line, the poor you have with you always, he will have written a classic.

WALTON HAMILTON

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by Lawrence K. Rosinger

Far Eastern Expert,
Foreign Policy Association

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China's Time for Decision

China's Crisis, by Lawrence K. Rosinger. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 259 pages. $3.

MR. ROSINGER'S BOOK on contemporary China arrives at just the proper time. There is no denying that, as events concerning that sorely beset land approach a new climax, the increasingly violent controversy about it in this country has been engendering more acrimony than light. The whole battle in the American press and on the radio between supporters of the Kuomintang and advocates of a coalition government seemed symbolized, in bitter sardonic fashion, a few months ago when at the close of a Forum of the Air debate between Agnes Smedley and Harrison Forman, for coalition, and Lin Yutang and Walter Judd, for the Kuomintang, the harried moderator pulled the contestants apart and said breathlessly, "Thank you for this helpful discussion of how to bring about unity in China." Mr. Rosinger is no pallid neutral whose attempts to be above the battle end by infuriating everybody, but his tone is so reasoned and reasonable that *China's Crisis* is certain to be valuable in helping the average bewildered American make up his mind about a matter that has such great bearing on the future of the world.

The author is frank. There is no attempt to hedge in his conviction that the Chinese Communists are a more progressive and vigorous force than the tired Kuomintang feudal regime and that a coalition government uniting the Yenan group, the smaller democratic parties and the less reactionary elements—of which there are undoubtedly a number—in the present government is urgently necessary. This will, of course, bring down on Mr. Rosinger's head the outraged screams of the growingly scurrilous American hatchet-men of the Kuomintang, who will denounce him according to pattern as a subservient toady of Moscow and a cowardly Red. In reality, it makes him as radical as the New York *Herald Tribune*, which in a recent editorial courageously shifted its ground to advocate American military aid to Yenan, so that we would be able to exert influence on both sides to bring about unity in China. Clearly we are in no position to influence the Chinese Communists when we say openly that we intend to give them no support in their war against the Japanese.

Tactically the partisans of the present regime in Chungking have scored an undoubted victory by bringing into the debate all the hysterical catchwords of the conventional anti-Red campaign and hurling them at the advocates of coalition. Calling out all the old hobgoblins of fear and prejudice, they have succeeded in confusing matters by making their opponents seem evil conspirators who want to overthrow not only the Chinese government but the American as well, at the behest of Moscow. This carefully

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organized campaign, synchronized with the recent State Department offensive against those who question it and with Ambassador Hurley's blanket support of the Kuomintang, has resulted in a highly successful reactionary drive which might understandably make for pessimism among liberal supporters of a unified, democratic China. As for the man of good will who is still undecided, such recent Red-hating outbursts as have appeared in the *Reader's Digest* and the *American Mercury* may well make him wonder if it is true that American criticism of the Chiang Kai-shek regime and praise for Yenan are just another dire Bolshevik conspiracy.

Such a book as *China's Crisis*, which is always balanced and unimpassioned, is bound to play an important part in clarifying, rather than obscuring, the issue. This, in the end, is simple enough. It is not the matter of bringing about a Communist China that will be the tool of Moscow. In fact, to prop up so corrupt and backward an oligarchy as the Kuomintang, which is unwilling and unable to construct a strong, modern and truly democratic China, is the surest way imaginable to make the Chinese people turn to the sort of extreme Bolshevism that a coalition government would prevent. It is the matter of establishing a government of national unity, representing all progressive groups, which could give China the rule that would start her along the path of democratic advancement, give her new virility and make her in fact as in name one of the Big Four of the world. Such a regime, instead of being a major cause of friction between the United States and the Soviet Union, would become a powerful influence for friendship and understanding between them, which is obviously among the reasons why certain forces, in both America and China, oppose the idea.

Mr. Rosinger, in one of his book's greatest services, recalls a number of events in recent Chinese history that are frequently overlooked. He remembers that the great leader, Sun Yat-sen, believed in coöperation with the Communists, placed strong emphasis on the needs of the peasants and workers and was friendly toward Russia. Then, in 1927, two years after his death, came the split in the united front. The conservatives, led by Chiang Kai-shek, were "disturbed," he notes, "at the spread of liberal and radical ideas, the growth of labor unions and the mushrooming of peasant organizations bent on rural reform," and, encouraged by America, France and Britain, began the mass suppression of the liberal and radical groups in the then revolutionary Kuomintang government. Thousands of nationalists—students, workers and peasants—were killed or imprisoned for their opinions, and the purge was directed not only against Communists but against all liberals and radicals. As he points out, "while the dead leader lay mouldering in the grave, others invoking his name sought to make the Kuomintang a party without a liberal or left wing. In the new Kuomintang there would have been no place for Sun Yat-sen."

Proceeding to the outbreak of the war against Japan, he reminds us that the central government was clearly more concerned with fighting Communists and suppressing all popular actions of an anti-Japanese nature than in preparing the nation for a unified defense against the enemy until public feeling forced it to give up beating the students who demonstrated for national defense and resist the Japs. As

SIX of Them

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he says, "it was not Chiang Kai-shek who led the nation, but the nation that led Chiang Kai-shek." It is noteworthy, too, that when the Generalissimo was kidnaped at Sian by patriotic Manchurian troops, it was the Communists who saved his life. To those who insist that for Chiang to cooperate with the Reds and accept them as allies would be as if Abraham Lincoln had acknowledged the Confederacy as an independent power, it is pointed out that, on the contrary, the Generalissimo did form a popular front with the Reds, that during its existence the struggle against Japan had the heroic aspect of a united people's war against the invader, and that finally the unity was destroyed by the actions of the Kuomintang, including the notorious attack on the Chinese New Fourth Army.

There is an excellent study of the Generalissimo, that curious mixture of great leader and narrow-minded reactionary, of Occidental-tutored Methodist and anti-foreign Confucianist, of puritanical reformed sinner and vindictive war lord. As successful political leader, Chiang's most notable quality is his talent for being a sort of natural resultant of all the forces within his group, of reflecting all pressures about him and serving as a human gyroscope, rather than any gift for hitting on some great, imaginative stroke of his own and then getting others to follow him.

While *China's Crisis* is critical of the existing regime, believes in the superior enlightenment and vigor of the rule in the Communist areas and has no illusions about the quality of the Kuomintang armies, it has no patience with any attempt to belittle what the Chinese have accomplished in their war or to sneer at Chiang's determination to hold out during dark days. Despite all its handicaps, including the existence of a pro-Japanese element in the ruling clique, the long struggle against a powerful and ruthless enemy, carried on for many bitter years while the rest of the democratic world almost suicidally continued to arm the mutual foe, is one of the epics of history, and, despite all his shortcomings, Chiang Kai-shek will be remembered with honor for his participation in it. But it must not be forgotten, either, that it was the people of China, despite the claim that they are not ready for participation in the government, who pushed the reluctant ruling clique into this great national defense and that the Communists were in the vanguard of every patriotic movement. Nor can it be overlooked that unprejudiced American military observers say it is noticeable that while troops from the Red areas are well fed, disciplined, know what they are fighting for and have confidence in their officers, soldiers from Kuomintang territory almost invariably lack these advantages for battle.

Many other interesting matters are discussed. For example, now that Representative Walter Judd and other Kuomintang apologists have hit upon the device of insisting that the Communists haven't been fighting the Japs at all, it is interesting to note that the Generalissimo himself bestowed many congratulatory citations on the New Fourth Army. Furthermore, it was with Chiang's approval that in 1938 the first guerrilla government was set up in the north.

In the interest of fairness, it is pleasant to see the author pay proper tribute to Chiang's new Minister of War, Chen Cheng, for "his devotion to country, willingness to work hard and interest in the well-being of his soldiers." In the end Mr. Rosinger sums up the matter admirably:

> The striking feature of the Chinese situation from the American point of view is that the policies of China's Communists—a group toward which American policy would not ordinarily be drawn—point toward a progressive China with which this country could work in harmony, while the Chungking government has tended to move in an unsatisfactory direction. In short the Nationalist Party—the Kuomintang—is not fulfilling the function of leading the Chinese nation envisioned for it by Sun Yat-sen.

The chief reason for the timeliness of *China's Crisis* is that once again there is the opportunity for the United States to change its Far Eastern policy. With a new regime in the State Department, with T. V. Soong conferring in Moscow and with increasing evidence that President Roosevelt had come to understand the imperative need for democratic Chinese unity, it should be possible for us to support progress, rather than chaos, in China. An encouraging development would be news of the disappearance of Ambassador Hurley and certain high members of the State Department from the scene. Nor is any shift to radicalism needed. Recent pleas for unity in the East by such conservatives as Walter Lippmann and the New York *Herald Tribune* show that it is not an issue between radicalism and conservatism, but between peace and confusion.

RICHARD WATTS JR.

Giotto to Chagall

Painting and Painters, by Lionello Venturi. Foreword by Booth Tarkington. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 270 pages. $3.50.
Marc Chagall, by Lionello Venturi. New York: Pierre Matisse Editions, Inc. 47 pages. 90 drawings. $10.

MR. VIRGIL THOMSON in some of the brilliant and exhilarating passages of his new book of reviews, *The Musical Scene*, shows a much needed awareness of the dangers of "journalism" in music, such, for instance, as to his taste, the symphonic journalism of Shostakovich. In Dr. Venturi's two volumes, one of the main themes is the artist's freedom to express his content completely—Chagall, he says, has made one of the greatest contributions to the realization of freedom in art. It is difficult to keep clear and in full sight the point that freedom in this sense means the artist's freedom to create the form that will be one with the quality of his content, the content being his conception of his subject matter. But we must not be taken in by those cases, so common in modern painting, where the painter

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takes advantage of this freedom to get up some sort of merely journalistic product, for the sake of the notoriety, the appeal and the market.

Dr. Venturi, of course, knows this as well as anybody. He must know also, after writing so many books about art, that a major problem is to keep the whole field in circulation, as it were, so that a statement of principle—that about freedom, for instance—should not seem to be true save with an if and a but, and the writer should not seem partly wrong, partly right, wrong, right, dogged and theoretical all at the same time. The purpose, we are told, of this recent volume on *Painting and Painters* is to illustrate a certain system of criticism that is based on a distinction between subject matter and content, and on a unity of content and form. To apply the point I just made, the problem here is how also to keep us mindful of the fact that among contents there are differences in significance, and a difference in the levels of experience expressed. That ought to be obvious to our simplest intuitions. We have long read that there is one glory of the sun and another glory of the moon and another glory of the stars, for one star differeth from another star in glory.

As to the unity between form and content, we have Chaucer alluding to Plato's saying the word must be cousin to the deed, and Spenser, drawing through the French on the Florentine Neo-Platonists, writing that soul is form and doth the body make. Dr. Venturi knows that as well as I do, and his technical effort should be—and this is not always too well done perhaps on his part—to let us know that the theory is not new, and all the better so. Nevertheless, basically, as concerns this point, his whole contention and esthetic adventure is to be defended as indisputable.

Painting and Painters has an unfortunate subtitle, one of those banalities imposed no doubt by circumstance, and, too, by the reticence of the intellect in an obligingly democratic state of things. That title is "How to Look at a Picture." (Why not add, "Mrs. Murphy or Mr. Walter Damrosch?") Which needs to be mentioned only as a way of saying that the book repeats, repeats its points and theses, somewhat more than is distinguished, as if all of it were delivered lectures, with various flat ends remaining. There is also at times a simplification of the issue involved that only clouds its complexity. The cold fact is that you have something on your hands when you go, as the author here does, from Giotto to Chagall. And yet, taking art as a direct emanation from life, fresh, in-dwelling, glowing and shadowy and passionate, it can be all as simple and close to us as our heart and intuition, not always, if you like, being understood very fully, but getting right the direction and vital sequence.

The book's plan is a good one. Chapter One shows us four prints: Giotto, an anonymous master of the thirteenth century, Berlinghieri and Simone Martini. Chapter Two has the Renaissance discovery of man, with prints from Masaccio, Piero della Francesca, Pollaiuolo, Botticelli and Leonardo da Vinci. The Renaissance elevation of beauty, the discovery of nature, the ideal values of luministic realism follow, with names like Raphael, Titian, Giorgione, Caravaggio, et cetera, and very well considered. The following chapters are art and illustration, with Goya, Millet, Meissonier, Toulouse-Lautrec; vitalizing nature, with Constable, Monet, Courbet, Pissarro; a consideration of

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modern physical beauty; of modern moral beauty; a chapter on abstract and fantastic art, all with names and illustrations. A change in tone—doubtless the result of controversial echoes—does not improve the solidity of these latter chapters. On the whole this book is good.

The book on Chagall, written with liberal devotion and assertion, is a valuable record of that artist's achievement, the many illustrations—two color plates, twenty-five drawings and sixty-four paintings—and the many generous and highly illuminating comments, plus the ample bibliography, are such a monument as few living painters could hope for.

STARK YOUNG

A Reader's List

TOM PAINE: AMERICA'S GODFATHER, by W. E. Woodward (Dutton, $3.50). This is the sixth biography of Thomas Paine (not counting Howard Fast's novel) to be written in the past twenty years. All of them have been more than friendly, but it seems that it will take a lot of doing to make Paine an American folk hero, much as he deserves the honor. Mr. Woodward's appreciative opus is pleasantly entertaining. Except perhaps for the fact that he has tried and found wanting a type of "smokeless" candle just like one Paine was unduly proud of inventing, it is hard to see what, if anything, Mr. Woodward has added to our knowledge of his subject. And when he endorses Elbert Hubbard's curious statement that Paine was "the first of all men" to suggest the Federal Union of States, propose arbitration and international peace, and the abolition of Negro slavery, he must be forgetting much of the history he knows.

A FOOD AND NUTRITION PROGRAM FOR THE NATION (National Planning Association. Planning Pamphlet No. 46, 25 cents). An important element in any postwar program must be the encouragement of higher standards of nutrition. The NPA here sets forth an ambitious agenda for improving our levels of consumption. The authors admit that low incomes engender inadequate diets, yet many poor families, they argue, have been able to enjoy a fair measure of nutrition. This clearly shows that a revision of dietary habits can contribute much to improved standards. But changes in the backward art of spending money will require intensive reëducation. Consumer groups, trade unions, farm organizations and the government can play important roles in this vast educational effort. Producers, too, can participate; increased productivity, new processing and canning methods and more efficient distribution are essential for a successful nutrition program.

HISTORY OF ECONOMIC DOCTRINES, by Eduard Heimann (Oxford, $3.50). Professor Heimann's book is a compact and carefully organized introduction to theoretical developments in economics, from Aristotle to Lord Keynes, and succeeds in giving such writers as Quesnay, Malthus, von Theunen and Oppenheimer their proper places in the history of ideas. The author's approach is essentially neoclassical: economics consequently becomes a matter of logical techniques rather than a reflection of social phenomena. "The history of economics," he says, "is a sequence of the methods employed in solving the problems of economics." Absolute neutrality for the economist is thus assured, and this world becomes the best of all possible worlds. Yet Heimann's evaluation of certain "schools" belies his own assumptions. Mercantilist doctrines, for example, are properly viewed as ideological support for a ripening nationalism. The logical method doubtless has its pitfalls; the critique of Marxian theory seems lost in detail, and sociological econo-

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mists such as Veblen and Commons are given inadequate treatment. The Veblenian satire apparently disturbs Professor Heimann, yet it exposed capitalist shortcomings more effectively than any logical approach. The discussion of the marginal-utility theory is considerably more successful. In spite of its limitations, the book is an absorbing work of scholarship.

BEHOLD OUR GREEN MANSIONS: A Book about American Forests, by Richard H. D. Boerker (North Carolina, $4). Mr. Boerker, an experienced forester and the author of several books on forestry, has written a challenging volume on the whole scope of America's forest problem. His central thesis is that our emphasis should be on "*forest restoration for multiple use*, with human welfare as the ultimate object." His approach is constructive and unbiased. Wild life, soil erosion, flood control, livestock grazing, fire and insect damage, sanitation, recreation and the question of government control are some of the topics which are discussed in relation to forest conservation. The book is rather prosaically written, but the excellent photographs and maps add greatly to its interest and value.

Crime and Punishment

THE FEAR MAKERS, by Darwin L. Teilhet (Appleton-Century, $2.75). Captain Allen Eaton, back home much decorated and still under medical treatment, visits Washington to find his partner dead and their opinion-poll business in the hands of two employees. The reactions of these men, plus Eaton's discovery of some very queer goings-on both inside and outside of the office, plus an examination of the questionnaire about to be mailed out, soon convince him that the organization is being run as a fascist-propaganda machine. Getting the goods on the interlopers is a long (much too long) and risky affair, but Mr. Teilhet's thriller of forces at work in America today carries a timely warning.

E. H.

Contributors

R. H. S. Crossman was, from 1938 to 1940, an assistant editor of the *New Statesman and Nation* (London) and lectured for the Oxford Workers' Educational Association. He is author of *Government and the Governed* and *How We Are Governed*, both published in 1939. Since 1943 he has served as Deputy Director of Psychological Warfare, first at Algiers and later at SHAEF.

Julian Huxley, well known biologist, writer and member of the famous BBC "Brains Trust" is closely associated with PEP, the British planning organization. He is the author, among other books, of *Democracy Marches*, *The Uniqueness of Man* and *Evolution: The Modern Synthesis*, published in 1943 by Harpers.

Bert Covit is a radio and newspaperman, now with the Mutual Broadcasting Company, formerly with the OWI. He covered the start of the war in the Philippines for the United Press. He was repatriated on the Gripsholm in December, 1943, after having spent two years in Japanese concentration camps.

Michael M. Davis, chairman of the Committee on Research in Medical Economics, was one of the organizers of the Committee on the Cost of Medical Care. He writes a regular monthly column, "Health—Today and Tomorrow," for the *Survey Graphic*.

Vincent McHugh recently returned from a long trip to the Southwest Pacific as a correspondent for a government agency. His most recent book was a novel, *I Am Thinking of My Darling*.

Walton Hamilton, a professor at the Yale Law School and longtime contributor to the *New Republic*, is the author, among other books, of *Patents and Free Enterprise*.

Richard Watts Jr. was formerly editor-in-chief of the Office of War Information in China, where he spent a year. It was his sixth trip to China since 1935.

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